

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEON MACCAS

BALKAN COOPERATION AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

HANS THIRRING

WORLD PEACE OR ANNIHILATION

MILAN BARTOS

UNO AND DUTY OF ACTIVE COEXISTENCE

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The Joint Statement by President Tito and Premier Nehru



After successfully concluded political talks, the President of the Republic, Josip Broz Tito, and the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, signed at Brioni a joint statement on Indian-Yugoslav talks. The statement, which was simultaneously published in New Delhi and Belgrade on June 8, 1955, reads:



THE Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, returning the visit of the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, to India in December 1954, paid an official visit to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia between June 30th and July 7th 1955.

During the visit the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India had a number of talks which gave them an opportunity for a broad exchange of views both on the general development of the international situation and on the relations between the two countries. These talks at which associates of the President and of the Prime Minister were also present, were carried on in an atmosphere of cordiality characteristic of the increasingly close friendship between India and Yugoslavia. The talks revealed a close identity of views on all the problems considered. Yugoslavia and India have evolved and are putting into effect, each in its own way, identical concepts and principles in their international activities which shows that these principles and ideas contained in the joint statement issued by the President of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India in December 1954, reflect general trends of development in the contemporary world. The policy of full independence pursued by both countries imbued with the principles of peaceful and active coexistence, represents an important contribution to the growth of international cooperation and mutual understanding among an increasingly large number of countries.

The President and the Prime Minister noted that the general world situation had improved, despite the existence of tendencies which impede such developments, and that the trend towards settling international problems by way of negotiation and international agreements had been strengthened and had resulted in some notable achievements. These trends

had found expression at the Conference of Asian and African countries at Bandung, in the signing of the Austrian State Treaty, in the notable extension of the area of agreement on the question of disarmament, and also during the Yugoslav-Soviet talks in Belgrade and the Indian-Soviet talks in Moscow as well as at the tenth anniversary session of the United Nations in San Francisco. It is earnestly hoped that the same spirit will prevail at the forthcoming meeting in Geneva of the representatives of the governments of France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America and that this meeting will make a new contribution towards the improvement of the international situation.

The creation of an atmosphere of greater confidence and co-operation in international relations will lead to increasing possibilities for the constructive solution of outstanding international problems and for security in the world. The question of disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons, with effective international control, is of particular importance in this respect. Important results can be obtained by broad international cooperation in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and in this context the forthcoming conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, to be held in Geneva, has special significance. The problem of the development of under developed countries is of far-reaching importance both from the point of view of the interests of the under developed countries themselves and of the interest of world economy and peace as a whole, and requires that practical and effective measures be taken through broad international cooperation. Any progress in the settlement of these and other pending international problems would facilitate the further improvement of the international situation. More particularly, the questions relating to Germany and Taiwan are of vital importance and their peaceful solution would open out new and far-reaching possibilities of peaceful progress and cooperation in the world.

The changing international conditions both require and make possible a greater role of the United Nations in international affairs. If the United Nations is to be in a position to play such a role effectively, it is essential that it should achieve universality of membership by recognizing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China to representation in the United Nations and admitting to membership all states which are qualified in terms of the Charter.

The President and the Prime Minister expressed their satisfaction at the development of political cooperation between their two countries. Guided by the principles of international cooperation and of peaceful and active coexistence, as set forth in their first joint statement on their mutual relations, Yugoslavia and India have drawn closer together and established bonds of warm friendship that reflect the sentiments of their peoples. The President and the Prime Minister expressed the desire that, in the spirit of existing friendship, there should be an exchange of views from time to time between the two countries on current international questions.

The President and the Prime Minister reviewed the

economic relations between the two countries and came to the conclusion that commercial exchanges were not on a scale commensurate with the close relations between them. The two countries should seek to obtain more extensive knowledge of each other's economies in order to foster trade and economic cooperation. With this end in view, both parties agreed to an early exchange of economic missions to explore possibilities and propose practical measures and forms of economic cooperation. They further agreed to promote cooperation between their two countries in the scientific and technical fields.

The President and the Prime Minister also agreed that the rich cultural heritage of both countries offers broad possibilities for cultural cooperation. Such cooperation is developing favourably, thereby helping the two countries to learn more about each other and to achieve closer relations. They agreed at the same time to continue to make all possible efforts for the development of various forms of cultural cooperation.

Brioni, 6th July, 1955.

New Roads of Cooperation

Premier Nehru's visit to the Federal People's Assembly was — in view of the welcome given him — one of the greatest manifestations of Indian-Yugoslav friendship. Greeting the Premier, the President of the Assembly, Moša Pijade, said in part:

ONLY half a year separates us from the day when the joint statement issued by you and our President was published in New Delhi and today we can take pride not only in the idea that was expressed in that statement but also in the fruits that this great common deed of yours has already borne...

The ideas of your joint declaration have been so splendidly expressed that I can hardly resist quoting it in its entirety. But this is not necessary because the exceptional adoption of the idea of peaceful coexistence made it, even in such a short time, a great common treasure of mankind. Behind this idea today are not only the signatures of Tito and Nehru, not only the moral forces of the peoples of India and Yugoslavia; today it is already quite evident that its proclamation opened a new avenue towards understanding among nations, the only path the alternative to which can only be war. The idea of active peaceful coexistence for which you deserve so much merit, became within such a short period a material moving force. May I just refer to the exceptional results of the Bandung Conference held by the African and Asian countries.

May subsequent international events and the direction they are taking give us ever more faith and hope that mankind will be spared, all the same, that other alternative. That is why we are deeply convinced that your visit to our country and this new fraternal encounter with our President will once more greatly contribute to the further expanding and strengthening of the idea of peaceful coexistence, which means neither neutrality nor a third power, for we are not for either two or three powers but for one, for the power of unity and cooperation of the whole mankind, of all countries, whether great or small, strong or weak, extremely developed or backward, for we stand for the unity of all nations in the cause of general progress. That will be a further important contribution of India and Yugoslavia to the strengthening in the world of the methods of negotiation and reconciliation in the solving of international disputes and problems, to the strengthening of the principle that relations between peoples and nations must be based on mutual recognition of sovereignty, independence and integrity, to the removing of all the possibilities of aggression, whether military or political, economic or ideological, along the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Upon these principles lie today the relations between India and Yugoslavia. Principles which are today being more and more applied and accepted in the larger field of



Premier Nehru in front of the Assembly

international relations. These are the principles which inspire the governments of our two countries in their relations with all other countries and this is the basis of their so useful cooperation in the United Nations. Thus, the close relations between our two nations did not prove beneficial only to the development of still more cordial friendly and fraternal relations between our two countries, but also to the easing of tension in today's world. And this contribution to the common cause of peace and progress is such that our countries are fully entitled to be proud for having taken this path and that they will, we have not the slightest doubt, firmly continue in that direction...

Peace Must Speak in a Gentle Voice

On the third day of his tour of Yugoslavia, Premier Nehru paid a visit to the Federal People's Assembly, where he was enthusiastically greeted by the Yugoslav deputies. After a welcome address by the President of the Assembly, Moša Pijade, the Premier delivered a speech, in which he said:

I APPRECIATE deeply the privilege of addressing this distinguished Assembly, and I thank you for your cordial welcome and for the generous sentiments that you have expressed. I have had full evidence, since I came to Yugoslavia two days ago, of the friendship and hospitality of the Government and people of this country and their regard for my country, but I value particularly this welcome by your Assembly representatives of the people of this country.

India, as you know, is also a Federation of a large number of autonomous States. Not only have we a federal Parliament, but each State has its own elected Assembly with large powers laid down by our Constitution. We have adopted in India what is called the parliamentary system of government, and we find that this suits the conditions in India and is understood by our people. Your political and economic structures are somewhat different and have arisen from the historical setting and special conditions of this country. Nevertheless, as you have been good enough to say, there is a great deal in common between our two countries. It was, therefore, natural for us to be drawn together to tread this common path in cooperation with each other.

The visit to India of your distinguished President, from whom we are proud to call our friend, brought a new awakening to both our countries and a new understanding of each other. That has been indeed a happy development, beneficial to our two countries as well as to the world at large. Out of the seed that was then sown, a flourishing tree has grown, casting its soothing shadow over a wide area.

You have referred, Sir, to the principles which were embodied in our joint declaration. Those principles now are not only part of world history but also form the texture of current events, influencing the thinking and the activities of many nations. They expressed, as you have said, the fundamental striving of all nations and the need of the world for peace, for the security of our civilisation and for the opportunity to humanity to progress peacefully and to make advantage of the achievements of science.

That declaration and the principles it embodied were evidence of our common aims and similar thinking, but behind them lay, as subsequent events have shown, a deeper and more intimate understanding of each other which I value greatly and which I think can be of some service to mankind.

You have rightly pointed out that the idea of peaceful co-existence is neither neutrality nor the attempt to build up some kind of a third bloc of nations, nor is it a passive approach to the problems of today. It is an active and dynamic approach, and it means ceaseless endeavour for all those who believe in it.

It is generally recognised today that there has been a turn for the better in world affairs. At long last, we see some elements of hope on the horizon, which promise to dispel the dark clouds that have bedevilled international relations for so many years. But the clouds still remain and dangers surround us, and it will require all the wit and wisdom of the nations of the world to dispel them fully so that the bright sun of freedom might shine and give light and warmth to every country and every people.

For thousands of years, Man has been engaged in a great adventure. He has seen many ups and downs but, nevertheless, he has built up great civilisations and, what is even more important, certain standards and values of human conduct which are the essence of civilisation. He has taken advantage of science and technology to unveil

the secrets of nature and thus increase his own strength and power. That power has been used for the advancement and progress of humanity. Unfortunately, it has also been used for evil purposes and for destruction. Power is a dangerous companion, and sometimes it tends to ignore and suppress the very values for which Man has struggled through the ages.

Today, we are on the threshold of what has been called the atomic age. Great advances in physics and the other sciences have changed our conceptions of the physical world we live in and given us some glimpses of the vastness of time and space and their inter-relation to each other. This progress of science has brought new visions and new ideas, and is gradually changing the way men think of the world and even of themselves. Science has also released atomic energy, a mighty force which may bring untold happiness to humanity or unimaginable misery and destruction. Thus, we stand not only on the threshold of great happiness but also are faced by a tremendous choice. Which way do we go, what choice do we make at this critical juncture in the history of Man?

While science has done all this and may do much more, it is extraordinary that men's thinking has not kept pace with it and men's eyes are still blind to the visions that are being unfolded. Most of us still function in the old ruts and think along old grooves, which have little relation to the facts of life today. Some even think of the possibility of war in this atomic age, a war which will certainly bring ruin to all and destroy civilisation and its values, which have been built up through the struggle of ages. If that is to be the ultimate fate of humanity, then surely it matters little what ideologies are pursued, what objectives we may have, for the end will be the same and it will be a common ruin.

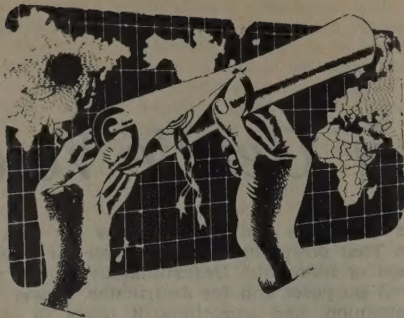
Therefore, the first thing to be clear about is that in the modern age, war is out of the question. It is a relic of a barbarous past which has no meaning today for intelligent human beings.

If war and the way of violence are ruled out, then the only other way is that of peaceful co-existence between nations and an attempt to solve our problems peacefully and by negotiation. Can we do this? Are the difficult world problems of today capable of such treatment? How can we get rid of the fears and suspicions, the hatred and the lack of security that many nations feel, which have led to colossal armaments?

These are difficult questions, and I have no easy remedy to suggest. We have always thought of them with a certain humility of spirit and endeavoured to do our utmost to serve the cause of peace, cooperation, the betterment of human relations and the progress of humanity. I cannot presume to advise other countries because I know that conditions differ and national backgrounds are not the same. All I can venture is to put before you such thoughts as I have for my own country.

I believe ardently in the freedom and independence of my own country as well as that of others. I believe in the freedom of the individual and in the democratic system of working. I think that the suppression of a nation is an evil thing and prevents its growth. Each nation and each and every people must find their soul and function according to their genius. They may be helped in this process by the cooperation of other countries, but essentially they must rely upon themselves, and any imposition from outside suppresses that soul of the nation and stunts its growth. Sometimes, the nation finds its soul in a struggle for its freedom, at other times in constructive and creative endeavour to build itself up. Yugoslavia faced many heavy trials and tribulations during the last world war but, in the very resistance it offered to that brutal invasion, she found her soul.

It is my belief that evil has to be opposed and must not be willingly tolerated, but that evil cannot be opposed



by a greater evil, nor can violence or hatred be overcome by greater violence and hatred. Nearly two thousand years ago, it was said by a very great man that those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword. We have seen that happening in actual practice during these last two great wars. In India, our symbols in our long past have not been great military commanders but men like the Buddha and, in our own times, Gandhi, both messengers of goodwill and peace.

There is much talk of peace, and the word is often used as a slogan. There is danger that even good words and good ideas might lose their value by wrong use. Peace should be peaceful. It should not shout or use the language of threat or condemnation. None of us is free from blame, and it does not help much to condemn and criticize, even though something is worthy of condemnation or criticism. Peace should speak in a gentle voice and with understanding.

We often hear of the iron curtain. I think there is some truth in this, but the greatest iron curtain of all is the one we put around our own minds. Indeed, many a wall is put up around our minds, which prevents us from looking at the world as it is. How, then, are we to understand the world or solve its problems. Even though these mental walls are unsubstantial, they are solid enough to prevent any possible entry of a new idea. Because they are unsubstantial, it is even more difficult to deal with them than if they were of brick and stone. It may not be easy to demolish them. Let us at least open some windows in them which will bring some fresh air and light from outside and enable us to have a look at the outside world.

I come from Asia, a continent which has long been in travail and which is today resurgent and dynamic. Yet, many people in other continents do not fully realise this fact and continue to think more or less in the old way. There is the unhappy continent of Africa which is also in a state of deep ferment. The peoples of this continent have

suffered untold agony during past centuries and their agony continues even today. Can we solve the problems of the world by ignoring the wishes of the peoples of Asia and Africa? It is obvious that this cannot be done, and yet attempts are continually being made to do so.

The major problems before the great statesmen of the world today are those of the Far East, Germany and disarmament. Undoubtedly, these problems are of vital importance. But, even here, one sees how many people refuse to face the most obvious facts. There is the great country of China which is denied admittance in the United Nations. Anything more absurd than this seems to me difficult to imagine.

The world has infinite variety, and it is as well that it has this variety which gives richness and charm to it. So, I believe, truth, reality and beauty have infinite variety. We may see some aspect of these but that is only a part of the whole. It may be that someone else sees another aspect of them which is equally true. We must, therefore, learn to be tolerant of others and not seek to impose ourselves upon them. At the same time, the world has grown too narrow for any nation to live a life apart. There has to be intimate cooperation.

We have decided in India to build up a socialist pattern of society. I cannot say exactly what shape this will take. It will have to grow according to objective reality and the needs of the people. It need not be exactly the same as elsewhere but, in any event, it should do away with vested interests, privilege and inequality, and bring freedom, access to knowledge and opportunity to all. It should naturally take full advantage of the power that science and technology give, but at the same time it should retain the creative spirit and the great values of civilisation, the belief in truth and beauty, tolerance and gentleness.

Wherever I travel, I see eager bright-faced children, and boys and girls and youths full of hope, on the threshold of the adventure of life. For us, of our generation, they are a great trust. What future are we going to give them? Are they doomed to perish in war and its terrible consequences, or can we assure them a life of peace and happiness, of creative activity, of contributing further to the progress of humanity and the great adventure of Man?

I earnestly trust that the statesmen of the great nations who shoulder so much responsibility today will give a right answer to this question.

I thank you again, Sir, for your welcome.

A Meeting of Statesmen

R. DAYAL

Indian Ambassador in Belgrade

PRIME Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is coming to Yugoslavia on an official visit at an important turning point in the world situation. After years of stalemate and tension, there are hopeful signs that the dark clouds of fear, suspicion and mistrust are beginning to lift. A number of important developments have taken place since the historic Delhi Declaration which have contributed to this improvement in the international climate. There has been the great gathering of the 20 nations of Asia and Africa at Bandung, the Austrian Peace Treaty, the Yugoslav-Soviet Declaration, and the Indo-Soviet Declaration signed a few days ago, to name some of them. At the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the United Nations, there seems to be a new atmosphere of hope and faith in the future. There is a definite movement in the direction of conciliation and the peaceful settlement of the vexed questions which have till hitherto defied solution. Yugoslavia and India have laboured unceasingly for the removal of the causes of tension and conflict and for the promotion of international understanding, which would in turn create a favourable atmosphere for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The meeting of the leaders of the two countries at the present time will therefore, in the context of recent developments, have an unusual significance. The Prime Minister's visit to Yugoslavia will further help to strengthen the bonds of friendship which bind our two countries, and thus promote the cause of international understanding and cooperation.



Peace and Cooperation

BALKAN COOPERATION AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Leon MACCAs

Minister in the Greek Government and Director of the Athens paper "European Life"

IF we were to define politics, we would say that they were the art of making use of reality with the aim of realizing definite ideas and plans. If history underlines and glorifies the work of some statesmen, it is because they have been skilful in exploiting the circumstances of their time and in achieving results of greater human values.

Bearing this in mind, it will not be difficult to understand Marshal Tito's contribution to the development of the present situation, his fame and the admiration aroused by his genius. For, once he found himself facing a difficult problem: to reconcile the strivings of man with the firm laws of geography, so as to establish peace and secure the future, without forgetting the lessons of the past or the duties of the present.

Now let us see what state of affairs he had to deal with. First, he had to reckon with very different circumstances — those prevailing in and around the Soviet Union, in the West and in the Balkans. In the Balkans the situation was similar to that in the West, for both were caused by the Soviet policy. Secondly, he could not have been indifferent towards the great wave which was coming from the heart of Asia and advocating peace and the idea of peaceful coexistence.

Does the idea of peaceful coexistence represent some kind of utopia? Is it to be taken to be merely the cry of a dying consciousness which seeks to free itself of responsibility, risking to be held even more responsible if its voice, unheard by gods, is interpreted by some people as a sign of fear and weakness, as a surrender, or as a kind of blackmail?

The origin of an idea is of great importance, because it often determines its fate and success, but for statesmen it is of secondary importance. A statesman has only one responsibility towards his people and his time: to estimate, as best as possible, the current value and the real price of the idea he is facing, and, if it possesses the characteristics of a guiding idea, to accept it as a fact, to reckon with it as with reality, to give it a definite direction, following his own experience, wisdom and broadmindedness, and to use it in his work, so as to prevent it from becoming a tool against himself and turn it into the basis of a better future for all.

And this, I think, was what Marshal Tito really did when he followed his guiding idea — a myth, a faith, a slogan, call it what you like — of people's peaceful coexistence. A democrat by origin and beliefs, he felt that this idea, in spite of the risks its spreading might bring about, would meet the real wishes of the people. He no doubt concluded that no man would reject it outright, or consider it with the aim of rejecting it, and that it was necessary to direct it, to cleanse it of all the germs of passive pacifism and suicidal defeatism.

The skill with which he conducted the Belgrade talks recently is the best proof of the success of his so difficult undertaking. From these talks the ideal of peaceful coexis-

tence emerged victorious, for it was further strengthened through active realism, a general appraisal of the world problems, a correct assessment of the existing moral and material forces, and through the maintenance and respect of all the links which bind Yugoslavia to other powers that were not participants in the Belgrade talks. Owing to the broadminded views of the Yugoslav leader, the cause of peace, as well as his national policy, became much stronger and clearer after the talks.

The future will certainly show to what extent and how fast the idea will spread. »Panta rei«, Democritus once said. »Peace«, a contemporary statesman confirmed, »is continuous creation«. It seems sure, therefore, that the idea of coexistence will receive further support, particularly at the four power talks, which have already begun in Washington, and which will most probably be continued at a higher level in some other part of the world. Points of contact already exist, particularly in the field of trade, where the interests of all are combined in spite of the famous »curtain«, where these contacts will become even more numerous and useful for the future, without any dangers or adverse consequences.

It is obvious that coexistence, if expanded, would become not only »active coexistence«, but also »rational coexistence«, as indeed it should be.

Living in community with other nations does not preclude either wisdom or vigilance. We can even say that, as we come closer to other people, our mutual relations become inspired by greater respect, and that such respect, in turn, is inspired by a correct appraisal of the moral and material forces of both sides. In that way, beneficial equality is established, as well as a source of justice which eliminates ambiguity. All this can be proved by the present conciliation in the world, for which credit is due, to a large extent, to Marshal Tito.

The acknowledgement of Marshal Tito's work must come from the Balkans in the first place. For it is well known how decisive a contribution he and his government made some years ago to the conclusion, first of the Ankara Agreement, and then of the Balkan Alliance. These mighty weapons, forged by Belgrade, Athens and Ankara, could not but bring to reason some imperialist minds, who were at one time, it seemed, hostile towards the Balkans. But what perhaps was not sufficiently stressed was the fact that the firm and loyal attitude which the Yugoslav leaders took during the sensational talks in Belgrade some weeks ago, has accelerated the change that has been lately noticed in the inclination of such minds.

Marshal Tito's clear and decisive tone in those talks has convinced the world, as well as his partners at that conference, that there are no disagreements or contradictions between the present strivings for peace and full Balkan cooperation and unity. It was not only the cold war, which was waged so far, that strengthened the link between Belgrade, Athens and Ankara. The Alliance of the three Balkan peoples is not only a military tool, a defensive ma-

chine to be used against possible aggression. Their cooperation will be beneficial also in the new, now discernible, circumstances because it is based on their joint interests and geographic proximity and solidarity.

The economic and cultural cooperation between the Balkan countries, their efforts to raise their standard of living, to create a better life and ensue greater social justice, together with the care of their defence, constitute the basis of the Balkan agreements. And that is what will last, let us hope, also when the possibility of aggression ceases to exist, and when general peace and friendliness are established all over the world.

While the danger lasts, the joint defence measures of the Balkan countries will be necessary. All three governments are in agreement on this point, and all those who care for freedom should be satisfied. But, there are no reasons why the Balkan countries should not work for further and greater results. Marshal Tito has already pointed out how Balkan cooperation can be perfectly harmonized with these first rays of peace.

The Balkan countries are still economically backward in comparison with the West. They are in need of investment capital, through which they could increase their production and expand their trade. When their cooperation turns their areas into a united zone which will attract capital, the policy of their close cooperation will have achieved yet another good result. On the other hand, their own trade and economic relations also open great possibilities, since, seeing that their economies are quite similar, their cooperation in this field will make it possible to avoid mutual competition. Their economies, however, complement themselves in many respects, and they can assist one another beneficially. Thus, cooperating in these two fields — production and trade — the three Balkan countries will raise their standard of living and so perform a useful work.

Their cooperation will lead towards progress and greater social justice. All three countries have produced men who carried out real revolutions: Eleutherios Venizelos in Greece in 1910, Kemal Ataturk in Turkey in 1912, and Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia in the post war period. These three men have created conditions for the quicker progress of their peoples. They supplied wings to social consciousness in their countries, established and strengthened a new social status quo, so that the peoples of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, freed from the remnants of feudalism, have entered a period of social emancipation which gives hope and makes progress possible. In the last ten years the three countries have achieved significant

results in their economic reconstruction and development, and today they are in a position to pursue firm social policies and to apply them more easily. One can only imagine how greater would be the results achieved by their social policies if they were to cooperate also in the social field.

Excellent opportunities also exist as regards the cultural cooperation of the three countries because their different religions — Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim — do not present any difficulties as far as their cultural unity is concerned. (Similar differences exist in Yugoslavia itself, and they do not influence her cultural unity). The three countries are equally resolved to preserve their freedom and independence, as well as to improve their living conditions. What is more, they have undergone similar experiences, for they all have suffered, almost in the same way, from more or less the imperialist rivalry and disputes of the great powers. Finally, due to their geographic proximity and parallel development, there is a great similarity between their customs, national poetry, rural way of life and intellectual aspirations, so that we can really say that there is a common Balkan spirit.

It is now necessary to take care of and preserve this common heritage. Cooperation in the cultural field, just as in the economic and social spheres, can produce useful results both for Yugoslavia and for Greece and Turkey. The Governments of the three countries, their chambers of commerce, their industrial associations, their universities, their high schools and their workers' organizations, will all have to play a significant role in this sphere of cooperation. Their Parliaments also. In this respect, we would like to underline the importance of the Balkan Consultative Assembly, which was recently officially approved, and which will, through the deputies of the three countries, assist and expand the work on cooperation which the governments of Belgrade, Athens and Ankara will, we are sure, initiate for the benefit of their peoples.

Have we considered here Balkan cooperation in all its aspects? Perhaps; any way, we have discussed it along general lines, and outlined its perspectives. And to harmonize this cooperation of the Balkan peoples with their wishes for a peaceful way of life, we cannot but hope that the atmosphere of peace will become warmer and much more favourable. For peace and security, which are the greatest treasure for all, are necessary for the Balkan peoples who, young, active and dynamic, are now developing their resources and are aware that general peace is the preliminary and essential condition for living in freedom.

ON THE EVE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

THE process of improvement in international relations has spread so far to a number of areas throughout the world and has led to the liquidation of dangerous local hotbeds in Korea and Indo-China, to an agreement on the Austrian question to a considerable reduction of differences in views between the East and West on disarmament, and to a normalization of relations between the USSR and some other countries, relations which were irregular and tense until recently. Thus — despite indubitable, greatly conflicting tendencies on both sides — a favourable atmosphere has been created for more sober talks between the representatives of the two antagonistic blocs for the settlement of the principal outstanding questions between them and in the world generally, for the settlement of such problems as Germany, China, disarmament, together with the question of the European and world security — which are both the causes and the effects of the cold war waged until recently, and of the world tension generally. The progress made so far in the process of pacification has this limited significance, primarily because the changes recorded so far could not be said to have produced any essential modifications in the existing relation of forces between the two groups, nor led to any substantial alterations in their positions. It may happen, for this reason, that this process will stagnate for a longer or shorter period, and that the further relations between the two opposing sides will enter a phase of status quo. But it appears that an internal force, a race of the two groups for retaining the initiative with

all its advantages, and another external force, which is represented by the growing currents in the world, demanding the establishment of mutual relations based on the principles of active coexistence, would not favour the tendencies towards directing development along the existing lines nor conduce to talks for a *modus vivendi* along these lines, for a longer period. Because the internal logic of the international struggle for initiative, which means something more than a simple competition for moral advantages, and intensified pressure of the champions of active coexistence, which acts against the efforts to check the development of pacification and keep it for a longer period on the present level — are accelerating the maturing of conditions for settling even the most complicated outstanding problems and disputes; as already shown, in part, by the case of Formosa, the evolving of the attitudes in the Sub-Committee on disarmament, etc.

If we view the forthcoming talks between the big powers in Geneva in the light of such, somewhat contradictory trends, we might say in advance that they will not remain without a sensible effect on further developments in the sense of further appeasement, although the views of both sides on individual questions are quite divergent, and although no agenda, no procedure and other usual details have been fixed.

What could actually be stated in support of such expectations in the midst of these differences on basic outstanding questions? Above all, the fact itself that both sides

today favour and deem possible a meeting between Government heads — a meeting which has not been considered possible or desirable by either side since the war, when peace was often on the brink of disaster. This very fact, under the conditions such as those existing presently between the East and West, speaks for itself as a positive element of no small importance, whose influence will not be insignificant for the further improvement of the world situation. The meeting, it appears, will not be held according to a carefully drawn up agenda, and quite big differences exist as to the character and scope of talks at the conference — and yet, as many data show, serious preparations are being made for making certain moves in the sphere of disarmament, where the USSR, by revising some of its main viewpoints, has turned the situation in its own favour, which the Western side will not be able to ignore. On the other hand, the impression prevails that certain proposals might be made by the West — proposals which would be aimed at paralysing the effect of the move made by the USSR in inviting Adenauer to Moscow and proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bonn, and which would also enable the West to take the initiative in its own hands as regards the German question, as it is believed that in this sphere the Soviet side is unprepared for such a race: at the present moment, it is alleged, it would not be interested in starting the German discussion, and this is mentioned by some quarters in explaining the move towards Bonn. There are signs, however, which point to the fact that proposals might be made in Geneva, especially by the British side, about such arrangements between the so-called East and West, along the lines of the present positions of the two blocs, which would solve the problem of mutual security, economic cooperation etc., but such formulae, it appears, would be brought up only if compromise should prove impossible in the case of another urgent problem. This, in addition to other reasons, because the influence of Bonn has been growing lately in the pursuit of German policy — that Bonn which enjoys increasing support from America — all this in the midst of growing tendencies for seeking German solutions outside the compromise solutions of the past, as the two Germans would not be legally treated on an equal footing, as was the case so far.

In such a situation it would be logical to expect a greater or smaller progress in the rapprochement of the views of the two sides on disarmament and as regards the general improvement of the atmosphere both between the East and West, and on a wider world scale, where it is still confused. It is less likely that this would be the case with some other outstanding questions. Such a development, however, should not be considered inadequate, still less discouraging. It seems moreover, as matters stand today, that it would be most logical and desirable. Firstly because of the essence of the problem of disarmament itself, and secondly because of the indirect effect of an agreement on disarmament in wider international relations in which disarmament stands as a principal and basic prerequisite for successfully starting to settle the outstanding questions. The agreement on disarmament itself, which, owing to the complexity of the problem, could not, of course, be realized and carried out in less than several years, would, nonetheless mean the end of the disastrous armament race, which is accompanied by such serious economic and financial burdens, such heavy feeling of uncertainty and such huge objective danger for all. And the armament race, in its own way, is nothing but the reverse side of blocs and bloc antagonisms, the main and direct obstacle on the way of pacification and more durable peace.

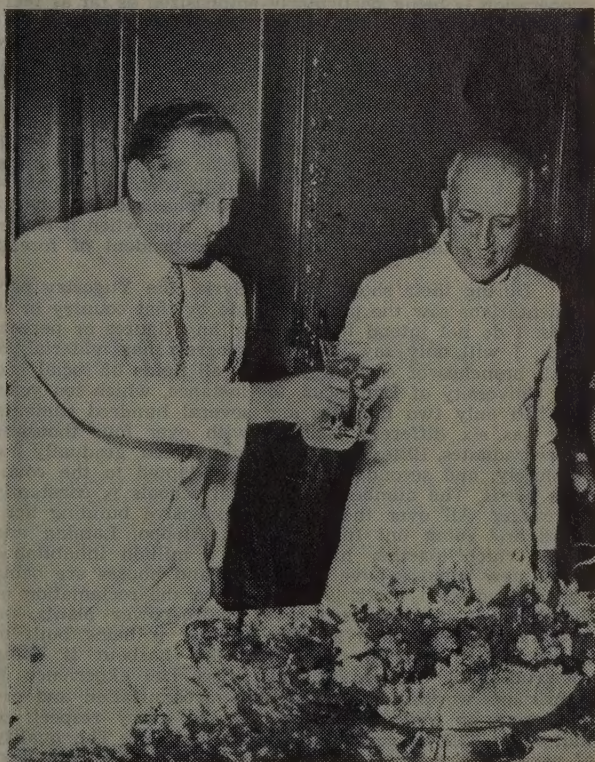
On the other side, the indirect effect of such development on the general international relations would be such as to reveal the outstanding problems such as they are, definitely and for all, — as political disputes whose solution could not and should not be sought on the plane of strategy and force, but on the plane of political discussion, agreement and compromise. What this would mean, for instance in the German question, in the unsettled aspects of the Chinese and similar questions — which are still viewed through the prism of their reflection on the relation of forces, through the prism of a larger or smaller number of army divisions etc. — need hardly be stressed. There is hardly any doubt that an important progress towards agreement on disarmament between the great powers in Geneva would be what is most desirable in the present

relations, which, of course, would in no way diminish the significance of, or need for successful efforts in other directions.

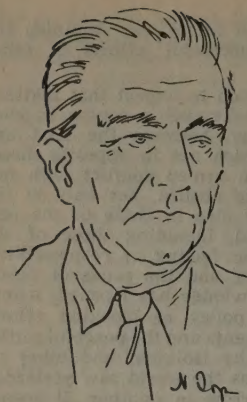
It might seem rather too much to expect that matters, in Geneva or afterwards, might take such a course, in view of the relations which still reign between the East and West and the various trends which act in opposite directions. It seems, however, that an armed conflict with nuclear weapons appears now quite absurd, not only in the minds of the general public, but also in those of the responsible statesmen of the world, including those of the principal great powers, on whose feeling of responsibility chiefly depends the cause of war and the cause of peace. It appears also that another knowledge has ripened, namely, that the insistence on the policy of blocking efforts towards the conclusion of agreements and the peaceful settlement of disputes is threatened by isolation and other no less tangible consequences, such as the world saw yesterday in one case, and may see tomorrow in another. It seems, finally, that the influence exerted by the champions of active coexistence, which is being felt in various forms throughout the world, and promises to be seriously reflected in the forthcoming actions of the United Nations, is so much on the rise in this anxious world, that it appears a basic force and an effective factor of resistance to any policy aimed at the maintenance of disorder in the world and at paralyzing normalization and pacification, by way of a reasonable liquidation of disputes and outstanding problems.

In view of this, the expectations connected with the forthcoming Geneva conference should not be considered exaggerated, nor should the hopes of an important progress in the sphere of such a complex and delicate question as disarmament be looked upon as unreal today. For it has never been such a thankless task as today, to stand in the way of efforts for pacification and peace, for which an increasing number of nations and peoples from all the continents are striving, under the slogan of active coexistence favoured today by all the arguments of reason and practical interest of all countries, great and small.

D. J.



President Tito and Premier Nehru



IMPRESSIONS FROM SYRIA

Vladimir SIMIĆ

Vice-President of the Yugoslav People's Assembly

THE visit of Yugoslav parliamentarians to Syria, which took place from June 10 to 20, was held to be of great importance by their Syrian hosts. All official meetings and receptions given in their honour were attended, in addition to the leaders of the Parliament and outstanding deputies, by the Prime Minister and many members of his cabinet. The President of the Republic, M. Askel, gave the Yugoslav parliamentarians an unusually long audience, during which all members of the Government were present. Both at meetings of this kind, and during visits to various towns, historical monuments, factories, institutions, schools and museums, the Yugoslav guests were greeted cordially and friendly, and they encountered everywhere sympathies towards socialist Yugoslavia, her struggle for freedom and independence, her role in contemporary international relations, and her foreign policy, whose fundamental principles are well known in Syria.

The similarity of the roads followed by the peoples of Yugoslavia and Syria, and the long, persistent struggle of the two nations for their liberation and independence, had paved the way, not only for mutual rapprochement and talks, but also for developing their relations in the political, economic and cultural fields. The wish for such cooperation is being particularly emphasized as far as technical and economic matters are concerned, for it is held that mutual support of the two countries would enable them to free themselves from alien influences and to overcome their economic backwardness more easily. The Syrian people are aware of the efforts the Yugoslavs are making in the development of their country, and acclaim all results achieved in that field. Regardless of the differences which exist between the Yugoslav and Syrian social and political systems, the rapid development of both countries shows — and this was constantly being emphasized — what a people can achieve in a brief period of time when it is free in its own country and politically independent of foreign powers.

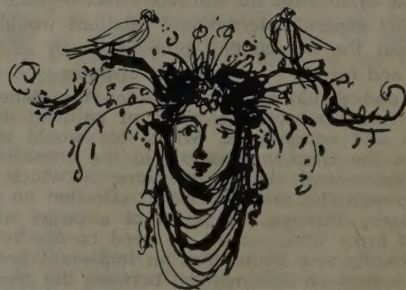
During their short stay in Syria, the Yugoslav parliamentarians saw the progress made by that country in all fields. I do not intend to give here any figures or percentages; I will only say that this progress has materialized in all branches of economy and in all fields of social life. The University of Damascus, for instance, which ten years ago had only two faculties and several hundred students, now has six different faculties with over four thousand undergraduates. Illiteracy is being eliminated, gradually but resolutely, and secondary education adapted to the country's needs. The number of technical schools is constantly increasing. All over the country, extensive building activities are going on. In Damascus, Aleppo, Latakia and Homs, which together have nearly a million inhabitants, whole new suburbs have been built, and houses are being built. In addition, work is going on on the reclamation of marshes, on the construction of hydro-power plants, on irrigation systems, and a large harbour is being built in Latakia. We might mention that this harbour is being constructed by a Yugoslav enterprise. The experience of technicians working there, and the mechanization and organization of work are satisfactory in every respect, so that work will be completed before schedule. The quality of work on that large construction site has been approved by all competent factors, as well as by the Syrian public, and the members of our delegation were told about it.

It is noteworthy that people in Syria do not consider the construction of the harbour only as a useful job, but also as a kind of technical assistance and successful international cooperation.

In addition to industry, particularly textile mills, which are developing rapidly owing to abundant home supplies of cotton, agriculture is the chief branch of the Syrian economy. Although farm land now tilled amounts to only 20% of the total area (181,337 square kilometres), it — owing to favourable climatic conditions — gives wide possibilities for agricultural production, while great areas of unused land extend these possibilities still further. In the last few years, cotton production has been increased six times, so that there are considerable surpluses for export. The same can be said for grain and fruit. The country's democratic development will inevitably lead to changes in the present, mostly feudal relations, and it is certain that profitable use will be made of the large tracts of forests, meadows and marshes, which make up 37% of the total area, which will further expand the material possibilities for the economic development of the country.

In Syria one finds ample traces of ancient civilizations. The Phoenicians, Hittites, Semites, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Crusaders, Moslems and Arabs all left monuments there. As a result, there are excellent opportunities for archaeologists in all parts of the country. The museums of Damascus and Aleppo are constantly adding precious finds to their treasures. Without their collections the study of ancient civilizations would be made more difficult, and they now attract scientists and tourists from all over the world.

The Constitution of the Republic of Syria states that Syria is a section of the Arab nation. Its preamble states that the Syrians are Arabs, and that they wish to see the day when the whole Arab nation will be united in a single state. Mentioning this „sacred wish“ as it is expressed in the Constitution, we only wish to point out the attitude of mind of people in the Middle East, without which many things in the present relations in that region could not be understood. For, no matter whether and under what conditions that „sacred wish“ can be realized, one thing is certain: the solution of the problems of the Arab countries lies, if not in their unity within one state, then certainly in their solidarity and mutual cooperation on the basis of a policy of peaceful coexistence, collective security and peace in the world.



THE POLICY OF INDEPENDENT AUSTRIA



In response to a request by the Editor of the »Review of International Affairs«, Herr Leopold Figl, Austrian Foreign Minister, has answered the following questions about Austria's policy after the signing of the State Treaty:

QUESTION: *The peoples of Yugoslavia welcomed the signature of the state Treaty and the day Austria regained its independence with great satisfaction. Could you kindly give us some of your views on the future policy of your Government?*

REPLY: The keen interest and sincere sympathies of the Yugoslav peoples concerning the signature of the Treaty which brought independence and freedom to Austria were a source of real joy to us. I regard them as an expression of the friendly feelings which the Yugoslav peoples have towards their Austrian neighbours. The future foreign policy of the Austrian Government can be outlined in a few words. It will be a policy of neutrality and friendship towards all nations, but at the same time wholly independent in every respect. This, however, does not imply that we will play a passive role, as if I can say so, we will pursue a policy of active neutrality. This term primarily denotes our determination to defend this neutrality from any attack from without, for which purpose we have already initiated the preparations for the creation of an initially small, but vigorous army. We will likewise strive, in so far as it is in our power, to act as mediators and exert a pacifying influence with regard to problems of international policy. I can say that Vienna will play an important role in the future as a most suitable place for diplomatic contacts and discussions. In our own interest, but always inspired by the principles of humanity, the objective of our foreign policy will be to contribute wherever we can to the preservation and consolidation of peace and to the establishment of closer links and negotiation.

As for our home policy, I am convinced that the cooperation of the two parties of the coalition has been ensured for a longer period of time, among other reasons because this collaboration is desired by public opinion.

QUESTION: *We would like to know your views on the further development of Yugoslav—Austrian relations and which would, in your opinion, be the most important elements in this respect?*

REPLY: I believe that precisely the development of Austro-Yugoslav contacts can serve as an example of the progress achieved in relations between nations through negotiations and the mutual respect of each other's convictions. I do not wish to enumerate the individual stadia in the development of Austro-Yugoslav friendship on this occasion, although I think I can say that we have already reached an extremely satisfactory stage. Although all outstanding questions have not been finally settled yet, I nevertheless believe that favourable prospects prevail in this respect, provided we maintain the spirit of courtesy which marked the talks held so far. I particularly believe that economic relations can be promoted still further especially in the field of trade exchange and mutual assistance, while the same also applies to cultural contacts. Also, we have not forgotten the constant support of Yugoslavia in its efforts to obtain freedom and independence for Austria, and I am convinced that this gesture, which we highly esteem, created also the necessary confidence for cooperation in the field of foreign policy.

THE CONFERENCE OF AMBASSADORS

Dr. J. ARNEJC

THE conference held by the Ambassadors of the three Western countries — France, Great Britain and the United States with the Yugoslav official representatives was arranged after longer talks had taken place so that it would be difficult to ascertain who was the initiator of the meeting, but this is really quite irrelevant if we bear in mind that the conference was preceded by frequent talks, either individual or collective. The fact that the conference was held between two important world meetings, the Belgrade and the Geneva meeting, is only a happy circumstance. The issuing of the Belgrade declaration on the one hand clearly confirmed the independent attitude of Yugoslavia and defined her relations with the Soviet Union, while on the other, it was possible to consult with the Yugoslav Government on a series of important international questions before the meeting of the Big Four in Geneva.

Actually, the world public knows little about the conference itself and its course, so that in contrast to the numerous and tendentious conjectures in some sections of the Western press, stands the plain, but eloquent final communique and some statements made by Yugoslav representatives. It appears quite clearly from these documents that the sole objective of the conference was to enable the four Governments to exchange views on various international questions, and not to take a joint decision upon them or even advance some new proposal for their settlement. It also appears from the communique that not all of the outstanding questions have been examined, but only some of them. It can readily be supposed that in the sphere of international problems, the German question was primarily examined, as well as security and disarmament as far as Europe is concerned, while the remaining questions were

only touched upon, but not discussed. In this connection we can conclude that the conference examined the degree of the easing of international tension, that the need for the existence of military or defence blocs was discussed in principle, that further talks centred on the question of active coexistence and on the ways and means for achieving further agreements in the field of international policy. In examining such matters it was certainly necessary to review also the political attitudes of other states, primarily the Soviet Union. In such talks, where Yugoslavia was an equal participant, it would be impossible to imagine her submitting an »account« of her policy. Here Yugoslavia did not appear as a country in relation to a bloc (as this bloc was not fully represented, not were the three representatives authorized to speak in its name), but the four countries talked on an equal footing »in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual confidence«. Nor is this bloc itself so unanimous on all the questions in view of the objective conditions and special interests of its individual members. Beside, all countries are not equally interested in the individual questions under consideration.

Although the final communique differs from similar declarations after talks and exchanges of opinions between the representatives of states, where the West does not usually take part, it is still possible to see in it certain common views of all the participants. Other statements, beginning with the Nehru — Chou En-lai and Bandung statements and ending with the Belgrade and other documents, contain many basic principles on which both sides have agreed. They reflect ideas which should be the guiding concepts in approaching outstanding international questions. The communique issued after this conference has no claims to be considered an important declaration both in view of the level at which the conference was held and because of its purpose and aims. But, regardless of this, the communique nonetheless exceeds the context of an ordinary statement, touching as it does upon certain questions of principle. It is certainly a faithful reflection of the present realistic relations between Yugoslavia and the three Western powers and indicates a similarity and identity of views in respect of various international problems. Viewed from this angle, the communique marks the success of the conference, for it seems that the Western powers did not insist so much on their previous formulations. Actually this is for the first time — and let us hope that similar occasions will multiply after Geneva — that the three Western powers have signed a public document, although only in the form of a communique, — in which they abandon their customary positions and to a certain extent approach, the ideas which are increasingly gaining ground and getting a growing number of followers in the world.

The opinion prevails that many signs indicate the beginning of an improvement of international relations, and the difference could only be in assessing the degree of this relaxation of tension. The middle formulation about a happier development of the international situation most successfully drew the two viewpoints closer to each other. As a result of such small differences in viewing the situation, there occur differences as to the choice of methods — how to tackle the outstanding questions and whether to reconcile ourselves to the existing division of the world into two blocs. If we take the status quo as the starting realistic basis for further talks and negotiations, and do not demand as the first condition, a change of this state of affairs, then the negotiations could yet promise some success. As the most important European problems — Germany and security — are closely associated with the general world question of disarmament, a successful settlement of some of the questions, primarily including the question of disarmament, would have the way for the settlement of other problems as well. Aware of this inter-connection of problems, the conference in its communique did not go into details, but only recommended, as a method, that the outstanding questions be settled by peaceful means and negotiation. It promised to do everything in its power to help the settlement of these problems. It is particularly important that the great powers should demonstrate this by their deeds, just as Yugoslavia has done on several occasions.

All resolutions and communiqués are an expression of compromise and balance of various views, provided the partners speak on an equal footing. Although the basic principles of active coexistence have not been mentioned in that document, the word itself having not been uttered, it nevertheless contains certain elements which stand for the idea of coexistence. The respect and recognition of the right of all nations to independence and equality means at

the same time that peoples and countries have the right to choose their own path of development and that nobody can interfere in their internal affairs, or realize his aims by bringing pressure to bear on them in any form whatsoever. And the idea of equality itself was confirmed at this conference where Yugoslavia talked as an equal partner with the three great powers. Taking into account, on the other hand, the present state of affairs and the need for a certain period of transition, while we are only speaking about the easing of tension, an appropriate place must be given to the right of self-defence and collective security, if in keeping with the spirit and aims of the United Nations Charter. The right of the peoples to self-defence is according to the Charter, the only form of armed resistance to aggression, before the United Nations, that is, the Security Council takes any steps. It seems perhaps out of place to mention self-defence at a time when all progressive peoples are actively working for a relaxation of the tension and for the strengthening of peace, but in a time of transition, it is still important to recall this, especially for those countries whose geographic position is specific and who are making strong defensive efforts in their resoluteness to preserve their independence in the face of any pressure, and yet contribute to the strengthening of peace. Devoted to the principle of collective security, in keeping with the United Nations Charter, Yugoslavia agreed to this formulation as this does not constitute a concession or the joining of a bloc, nor any approach to such systems, but only shows that she is conscious of her duties concerning the preservation of peace, of her obligations towards the UN Charter and towards her membership in the Balkan Alliance. These are actually the only obligations which exist for Yugoslavia, besides her own defence measures for the preservation of her independence, which mean an important contribution to the cause of peace.

The second item of the conference agenda was an exchange of views on mutual relations, which, of course, included such questions as military assistance and economic relations. These questions too, were discussed in general and without any intention of taking decisions. The question of mutual relations interested all three countries and there was no intention of entering into an examination of bilateral relations despite the efforts of individuals in this direction. In support of this we may mention that all through the conference the same political advisers were present; and no specialists for individual questions were needed because no special questions were involved. Actually the second item on the agenda was closely connected with the first, as regards Yugoslavia's foreign-political orientation. That is why the communique could not state any data, but only confirmed the correctness of the past policy of our country. Thus the Western powers too confirmed that Yugoslavia is an independent country at a time when some Western papers make abundant conjectures as to whether Yugoslavia is returning to the Soviet bloc or not. Yugoslavia, as a matter of fact, did not ask for such a testimony, as her political line is clear and unambiguous, but this statement is useful for the other side also, so that all may understand that independent countries need not join any bloc, since, by pursuing their independent policy, they make the best contribution to peace and stability in the world. Yugoslavia's cooperation with Greece and Turkey is naturally also taken into consideration here. Despite all conjectures, the peaceful role of the Balkan Alliance in this part of the world is clearly emphasized, which shows that all surmises were groundless. Also unfounded were the speculations of certain commentators on the alleged dissolving of the Triple Alliance. Such commentators evidently cannot imagine that the Balkan Alliance would have the same or even greater significance if useful cooperation were intensified in all the fields of activity. It is almost certain that the conception of regional alliances has now prevailed — alliances, where cooperation in the economic, cultural and even political fields is equally important, if not more important, than in the military field, especially under the present conditions of the easing of world tensions.

Finally, we may conclude that no changes have occurred in the matter of mutual relations and that cooperation is evolving normally. And such exchange of views can only contribute to the deepening and improvement of relations, especially if conducted in an atmosphere of confidence, which is fundamental in international relations. In the creation of confidence lies the best hope for the further strengthening of good relations. In this sense we may say that this conference has been successful.



Events and Comments

Nehru in Yugoslavia

FORMALLY speaking one could say that Nehru came to our country in order to return the visit made by President Tito to India by the end of last year, that his coming is thus a customary protocolary event providing an opportunity for the manifestation of mutual friendship between the peoples and governments of the two countries. However the President's visit to India and Asia in general was invested with far greater significance and represented an important development in the promotion of the contemporary policy of peace-loving countries. Therefore the same can be expected from Nehru's present visit to our country: namely, that it will lead to the further affirmation of this policy in accordance with the newly opened prospects for the improvement of international relations.

Within the comparatively short time between these two visits, many major events occurred in the world, as well as far reaching changes: inter alia, the first 29 country—Asian—African conference was held in Asia, on the basis of the principles of coexistence, thus confirming in spirit and

A SIGNIFICANT ANNIVERSARY

TOWARDS the end of June the high representatives of 60 member countries from all over the world gathered in San Francisco, where UN Charter, setting up the Organization, was signed ten years ago, to celebrate the first ten years of its existence.

As was to be expected — this occasion was not used for manifestations, customary in similar cases, but enabled all the speakers to set forth, on behalf of their peoples, the worries and problems with which they and the rest of the world are wrestling under the present conditions, as well as their expectations and hopes for a better future. Besides, no other occasion was so appropriate as this — the tenth anniversary celebration of an Organization designed and founded as an expression of the aspirations of peoples to build a more peaceful, more secure future in freedom and progress for all.

The idea itself of a general world organization is not a new one, and its appearance dates many decades back — long before it materialized after the First World War in the League of Nations. But the League of Nations, on the one hand, was not nearly so wide in scope — it confined itself to Europe for the most part, embracing only a few countries outside it — so that it could at least lay claim to an important role in world affairs. On the other hand, perhaps for this very reason, it made no attempt to build an appropriate apparatus which might make it an effective instrument for playing the role assigned to it — for the maintenance and advancement of peace in the world and for development of peaceful cooperation among nations. So — the very moment the League was confronted with a serious task of this kind — with the task of preventing Italian fascist aggression against Ethiopia, it failed completely, and a little later, owing to similar failures, it lost all practical meaning, even for its very existence, so it faded away imperceptibly.

The setting up of the UNO after the Second World War was characterized by a resolve to draw indispensable lessons from the experience of the League. From the very beginning the aim was to make it a truly worldwide, universal organization by embracing all independent countries on all the continents. It was realized at



Premier Nehru speaking in the People's Assembly

letter the Tito — Nehru and Tito — U Nu Declarations. In the meantime the People's Republic of China adopted a policy which inevitably contributed to the relaxation of the tense situation over Formosa and that part of the world in general, while the same country succeeded by its other overtures in notably dispelling the mistrust which justly or unjustly prevailed in some neighbouring countries with regard to its intentions. Last, it was in that part of the world that the Sino-Japano-Soviet action for the normalisation of mutual relations was initiated, which, together with other similar elements in the direct relations between China and Indonesia and China and the other countries of Asia, promises that further common efforts could bring about a situation in Asia which would correspond to the proclaimed policy of coexistence, and thus achieve the full settlement of the outstanding problems through friendly and peaceful negotiation and discussion.

This situation, however, is not the only thing which characterises the development in Asia between the two visits. Owing to these developments, the policy of independent Asia which also contributed most to the achievement of the present success, was enabled to increase its efforts on a broader international scale — the only framework within which it is possible to resolve the focal problems of today's Asia. On the basis of such a development in independent Asian policy, its representatives, U Nu and Nehru, set out to acquaint themselves with the worries and intentions of others, and acquaint others with their views and expectations: This was also the case with the visit of U Nu to the Soviet Union and America and other countries, and the visits of Nehru to the Soviet Union and a series of other countries, on whose cooperation the further relaxation and pacification of the world is contingent. This was also the case of the visits and the steps undertaken by Nehru's personal envoy, Krishna Menon, in China and the United States, where he performed the useful role of intermediary between the two countries, backed not only by the prestige of India and the support of Asia, but also by the good wishes of all those who do not expect anything good from recourse to war and violence.

The increased scope for the action of independent European policy in the present period derive from the fact that developments in Asia and in the field of direct relations between the so-called East and West, particularly in Europe, were paralleled by the favourable trend in the process of pacification initiated, especially as regards the solution of the Austrian problem, the headway made in the field of disarmament, as well as the successful intergovernmental Yugoslav-Soviet conference in Belgrade which, together with a series of other minor but no less significant elements opens increasingly favourable prospects for the continuation of that process. Last, one should also mention the major success marked by the agreement of the four big powers to hold the first post war Prime Minister's conference scheduled July 18, for the purpose of talking things over at the same table for the first time, jointly examining the reasons for the present worries and dangers and seeking ways to eliminate them.

Consequently, Nehru's visit to Yugoslavia took place at an extremely propitious moment, and it is also in this circumstance as well as the already fulfilled hopes that the Belgrade talks will contribute to the further improvement not only of mutual relations, but also of the international situation in general, that the reasons underlying especial significance should be sought. At the present stage even the biggest powers are no longer in a position to ignore voices such as those of India and Yugoslavia and the claims for independence in general, equal rights and world peace, as the latter are backed by many countries in various parts of the world and many millions of peoples. On the other hand, these voices are inspired by the principles of active coexistence, which is no longer confined to the sphere of moral influence today, thus representing an ever stronger political force in the form of a series of concerted or coordinated actions, overtures and efforts, aiming at the alleviation of the existing contradictions, the establishment of contacts, the elimination of differences and the creation of the necessary conditions for successful talks and negotiations, and already bearing fruitful results which only those who are shortsighted or blinded could ignore, i. e. those who consider the progress of pacification and the adoption of reasonable attitudes in the relations between the big powers as their exclusive merit or the result of big power action.

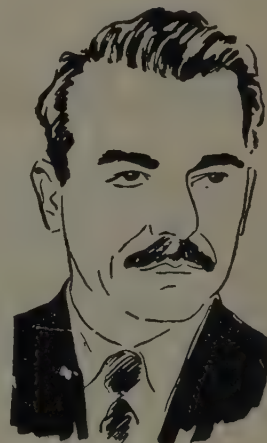
Arriving on such a noble mission of champion of peace and coexistence, Nehru was received as an old and proven friend, as a man from and a leader of a country which we have learned to love and admire and which always, particularly in its reception of President Tito, expressed warm friendly feelings, respect and confidence. Therefore Nehru arrived on a twofold mission, and the entire country rose to welcome him, convinced that the present talks and visit will bring only the best to the peoples of the two countries, and the general cause of countries who consider peace based on the principles of coexistence both the only possible and sole favorable alternative to cold, and especially hot, war which would be dearly paid by the whole world, particularly by those who would have nothing to expect from such a conflict, as India and Yugoslavia.

the same time that such an organization, if it wished to live up to the hopes placed in it ever since the inception of the idea of it and fulfil its tasks in the sphere of peace and international cooperation, must have a suitable apparatus, authorization and force of effective action. This explains the broad scale of this organization as well as the establishment of such a body as the Security Council, which is permanently in session and which has the right and, in its own way, the power to use means of compulsion, that is material force, in the implementation of its tasks. Such corrections, in addition to numerous other elements, which distinguish the Charter and the UNO from the League and its Covenant, made UNO, during the

first decade of its existence, primarily a truly world forum, before which nearly all important questions in dispute were examined, and which played, to a larger or smaller extent, the role of mediator, adviser and protector. Hence it may be said without exaggeration that, in that period, credit is due to the UN primarily for the fact that small armed conflicts were localized and finally liquidated by peaceful methods; they were not permitted to flare into a world war in this way, or through direct conflict between the big powers, or through their action.

It would of course be an exaggeration to say that the Organization has carried out this task completely, and always in accordance with the princi-

ples of the Charter, which are such that, were they fully observed — genuine peace in equality, independence and prosperity would triumph in the world. Nor could this be said for the activity of the Organization in other fields — in helping colonial peoples to realize their just aspirations in keeping with the right of each nation to independent life, which the Charter lays down in clear terms, or in the sphere of necessary assistance to under-developed countries so they could extricate themselves from backwardness, poverty and insecurity. If this has not been done in a measure that had



Koča Popović,
Chief of the Yugoslav delegation at the
San Francisco Meeting

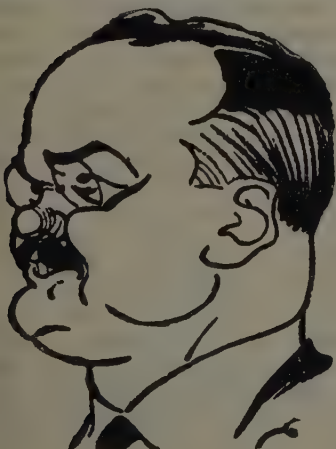
seemed necessary and possible, this is only because, or primarily because, the great powers — those which are the most responsible for the question of peace or war — did not sufficiently cooperate in the UNO, or did not always respect the principles of the Charter in their own practice, or else endeavoured to subordinate the Organization to their narrow interests, one of the results of which was that the UN was frequently paralyzed in its activity and development. But the fact that the Organization is so wide as to embrace 60 countries of the world, and that many independent, small, medium and even large countries were persistent in their efforts to implement the Charter and fulfil the tasks of the Organization — did not fail to exercise an influence despite obstacles arising from the attitudes and mutual relations of the big powers, which enjoy a privileged position in the Security Council and, to a certain extent, in the Organization itself. Nevertheless much has been done for the maintenance of peace, the promotion of relations between nations, the promotion of actions and plans to help the weak, backward and under-developed countries, and more recently for reaching an agreement on the question of disarmament and for discovering solutions for problems arising from the production of atomic-nuclear weapons and from the danger of their possible use.

During this significant celebration, emphasis was primarily laid by all the speakers in San Francisco on the need for maintaining and strengthening the

organization, on the need to expand it through the inclusion of a dozen countries, especially the People's Republic of China, which are still outside it for justifiable reason; on the need to activate the role of the Organization in the field of assistance to under-developed and backward countries; and finally on the increased effectiveness of its action in the settlement of outstanding questions, primarily the questions of disarmament, prohibition of the production, the experimenting and the use of atomic-nuclear weapons, and the channelling of such energy into a creative force, capable of ensuring unprecedented prosperity for the whole mankind. Whether they wished it or not, all the speakers, by following this path, found themselves, in one way or another, on adopting the position of political coexistence, as the only formula which today can lead the world out of the state of uncertainty which the only certain thing is that conflict would mean a general breakdown and annihilation for all. The Organization could have done nothing more for the cause of peace on this occasion, and one could wish it could do nothing less in the future than develop its actions in this spirit which is, by the way, to a great extent a fruit of its own influence — and thus fulfil its great tasks.

CLEARER SKIES OVER JAPAN

AS part of its overtures aiming at the normalisation of relations with countries with which diplomatic, political and economic relations were dislocated so far, the Soviet Union, in conjunction with the People's Republic of China, undertook the necessary measures to resume normal relations with its Far Eastern enemy from World War II, Japan. This decision was already made public in October last year in a corresponding statement by the Soviet Government followed by a similar appropriate state-



Molotov

ent in Peking, although the matter remained at that until a few weeks ago. This was primarily due to the fact that the two sides were unable

to reach agreement with regard to the question of procedure, the other in which individual issues should be dealt with, and also because the Japanese government was not always in a position to act independently, as it is impeded by political considerations and legal obligations towards the United States which, under the conditions marked by the present American policy in the Far East, cannot contemplate such a new turn in the Sino-Japanese-Soviet relations without suspicion.

If one would wish to view the unsolved problems between the two co-



Shigemitsu

untries from the standpoint of formal law, they could be roughly divided in two categories: one comprises only the conclusion of the Peace Treaty and the consequent establishment of normal diplomatic relations, while the other group would cover problems which are more or less linked with the first, but which can also be dealt with and discussed separately, namely before or after the solution of the first. This would apply to some territorial questions, the Kurile Islands and Southern Sakhalin, the prisoners of war, the fishing rights in certain zones of the Okhotsko Sea, the establishment of normal trade relations etc.

When assuming the initiative for the regulation of these problems, the Soviet Union also proposed the order in which these problems would be dealt with and resolved. According to this proposal it was primarily necessary to conclude the Peace Treaty and simultaneously establish regular diplomatic and trade relations and subsequently discuss the other problems through the diplomatic channels. In submitting such a proposal the standpoint was probably adopted that the solution of the political issues would create about a favourable climate in mutual relations, and thus facilitate not only the discussions of the remaining problems, but also contribute to the clarification of the atmosphere in the Far Eastern area, which is considerably bleak and so tense on certain points that it constitutes a cause of serious misgivings not only for Asian but also for non-Asian countries. According to some reports, the Japanese Prime Minister Hatoyama was also in favour of such a procedure but was opposed by his foreign minister Shige-

mitsu, not only on behalf of the latter's supporters, but also on the demand of Washington, which also provides the only logical explanation why Hatoyama revised his opinion and yielded to the attitude of the Japanese Foreign Minister.

Believing, not without reason, that further insistence on the original proposal would jeopardize all prospects for the so necessary normalisation of its relations with Japan, the Soviet Union subsequently abandoned its former attitude and accepted the procedure proposed by the other side, so that after considerable haggling over the site of the talks, the latter were actually initiated June 1 in London, where they are still progressing, although slowly, but with considerable prospects for a favourable outcome.

Both the normal state of Soviet-Japanese relations, and their regulation no longer represent a matter of such importance as in the past, because in the new Far Eastern situation Japan is deprived of the importance with which it was once invested when it rose to the position of the leading Far Eastern Power. Although devoid of any particular influence on the development of events, Japan is situated in a area where serious conflicts and complications between the big powers on either side of the Pacific are an actual possibility. Hence the great importance attached to the regulation of relations between that country on the one hand and the Soviet Union and China on the other, needless to say on a basis which would prevent complications, even in case of sudden changes in the existing balance of power.

As distinct from the method adopted in the regulation of Soviet-Japanese relations, this process in Sino-Japanese relations does not evolve by means of global talks and solutions, but by the partial and concrete settlement of individual problems, as the establishment of trade relations, the solution of the prisoner of war problem etc, which will yield the same results in the long run. These differences are obviously due to the fact that Japan has a still less free hand in its relations with China than in the case of the Soviet Union, as the two countries are separated by the regime of Chiang Kai Shek and Formosa which are, in a certain manner, recognised by the Japanese government, and towards which it must have special regard in view of its specific relations with America, to whom it is linked by the well known instruments which constitute an integral part of the 1951 Peace Treaty and which were a prerequisite for the conclusion of the latter.

VATICAN IN ARGENTINA

THE privileged position of the Catholic Church in Argentina has been inherited from the time of Spanish rule over that country and the other parts of Latin America, which the Spaniards and other colonisers actually conquered together with clergymen and with the blessing of the Church. The conquest of countries in this case developed parallel with the

conquest of »souls« while the two authorities supported each other unselfishly, knowing all too well that in most cases the fate of one depended on that of the other. However, the development of a national independent state was incompatible with such a status of the church, which resulted in a series of conflicts, incidents and clashes which assumed increasing frequency and intensity parallel with the growing need for an efficient modern state and state policy in a nationally emancipated country.

The present conflict between the Church and the State in Argentina which after ten months' duration led to the organisation of an armed revolt is also an inheritance from the past. Under the present conditions, however, the essence of the dispute has been changed in so far as an internal problem is assuming increasing international significance, primarily because the Vatican and the Catholic Church are striving to establish ever closer links and identify their interests and aspirations with the interests and aspirations of a certain policy which is hostile to the full emancipation of Argentina and similar countries. It is sufficient to cast even a cursory glance at the press and official reaction in a series of countries apropos the revolt in Argentina and in general concerning conflicts between church and state, in order to see the extent to which a certain policy and certain interests, which have very little in common with the Holy Roman Church and are all but spiritual, were hit together with the Vatican.

In its latest form the conflict started by the end of last year when the Peron Government began restricting the rights of the Catholic Church, implementing its own educational policy in the country and enforcing other measures to place the hitherto privileged official Catholic Church on a par with the other churches and religious communities in the country. These

measures provoked resistance, protests and demonstration among the Catholic clergy, which made full use of churches and pulpits, and an even greater use of religious »non-political« organisations which went so far as to threaten physical violence. When the government decided, a few weeks ago, to place the problem of the final separation of the Church and the State before the people in the most democratic manner, by means of a referendum, thus depriving the Catholic Church of its privileged position and status of official religion with all the consequences logically entailed, this was countered by the open intervention of the Vatican, who protested and issued instructions to the clergy and congregation to actually forswear their loyalty to the state and attempt to overthrow the present government and authority. Such was the aim of the Vatican in excommunicating Peron and all those who had helped him in implementing measures against the Catholic Church; the Vatican's action was immediately followed by the attempt at armed revolt. The revolt has been successfully suppressed for the time being, but it has revealed that once its feudal positions are threatened, the Church will rise even against its own people, and justified endeavors of all countries in the same position as Argentina to free themselves from a remnant of the survival of the past which has been so »modernised« as to use extremely up to date methods in the defence of its ill-acquired positions.

The measures contemplated by Argentina in this field are only indispensable attempts to determine precisely the place of the national state under

the present conditions, and the position of an organisation which pretends to the status of a state within a state, thus inevitably clashing with the basic interests of the state and people, all the more so as this state within a state appears, as is the case in Argentina, as the exponent of foreign spiritual and political interests and ambitions.

Notwithstanding these specific foreign political considerations, the separation of the Church and the State is one of a series of measures which became relevant already at the time of the French Revolution and which constitute an integral part in the adjustment of mutual relations to the present needs and objectives.

Argentina is one of the first countries of Latin America to embark on the road of general national emancipation, first from colonial control, and subsequently from the control of foreign capital, that is from political control also; and she consequently became the exponent of that policy in that part of the world, and the great northern neighbour. The struggle against these controls went on for many years, and is still going on; and that is why Argentina found herself on the wrong side during World War II, and running the risk of deviating completely from the road to genuine national emancipation in its further development. Because of the policy it had thus adopted, Argentina found herself siding with similar tendencies in Latin America, where all countries are more or less faced with the same basic problems, while she was exposed at the same time to strong pressure from a powerful northern neighbour; such pressure was recently increased by the action of the Vatican, which in this case, saw the best guarantee of its position and privileges in the suppression of the efforts towards the achievement of the full emancipation of the country.

From that point of view, Argentina offers an interesting and instructive example. However, if one looks at it in another light, the fact that the government was suddenly confronted by such a revolt in its most vulnerable point, the army, and that at such time the whole country stood in complete uncertainty, and was dependent on the attitude of a larger or smaller group of leading army officers, is not a point in favour of the policy pursued by the present regime in certain fields, and it should make it necessary to draw serious practical conclusions if the repetition of similar experiences is to be avoided in the future. The man in the street, however, gave his full support to the government and its policy, and it seems that the working people resolutely backed the policy of their country. Nevertheless it is certain that the consistent implementation of the national policy as regards the relations with the Church and in the interest of the same consistency in wider fields also will require a series of new measures and the building up of a greater political and organisational security than was the case so far.

Dorđe JERKOVIC



President Peron and his Defence Minister



San Francisco 1945—1955

The Beginning of a New Chapter

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT TITO FOR THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHARTER

Ten years ago today representatives of fifty countries, among them the delegate of new Yugoslavia, signed the United Nations Charter in San Francisco.

The organisation whose foundations were laid that day was the expression of the profound desire of people to organise their relations in a new way, in a manner ensuring a lasting, a just and a democratic peace which would be in conformity with the new international conditions, marked as they were by an increasingly close interlinking of the international community and the ever more complex interdependent relations of the members of that community. The United Nations, as a reflection of the objective needs of contemporary international development, was therefore based on the conception of a permanent, broad and comprehensive cooperation of all countries, with full mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, independence and territorial integrity: on the principle of non interference in internal matters, refraining from the threat of use of force in international relations, and of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, etc.

During the past ten years the United Nations has justified its existence. Notwithstanding the distinctly unfavourable general conditions in which it had to operate, notwithstanding certain shortcomings in its own structure and organisation, the United Nations exercised a strong and positive influence upon the development of international relations. As the organised expression of the peace-loving forces and of progressive strivings for cooperation on terms of equality and for a united world, it had a restraining effect upon tendencies of disunity and conflict, thus contributing considerably to the general relaxation of tension in international relations.

Now that we are faced with the immediate and realistic task of turning the decrease in tension into a firm and lasting peace, the role of the United Nations assumes an even greater significance. It is of the utmost importance in the present international atmosphere of relaxation for the United Nations to acquire a universal character by admitting those sovereign states which are outside this organisation today, since that would be of considerable importance not only for the removal of one element of tension, but also for the better functioning of the United Nations. The policy of peaceful and constructive international cooperation for the purpose of solving all international questions, the policy of active coexistence, which is gaining increasing recognition today as the only possible way to a lasting peace, is actually only the implementation in existing international conditions of the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter ten years ago. Hence, the policy of active coexistence is the consistent implementation of the United Nations Charter. It calls and creates conditions for the growing role of this organisation in international life. To fight for the broadest and fullest application of the policy of active coexistence and to work towards the strengthening of the United Nations and its role in international life, such are today the two fundamental and inseparable aspects of the general problem of international peace.

We, in Yugoslavia, are deeply confident that there is today a real possibility of solving the problem of peace in both its aspects. We, therefore, feel that there is every reason to expect that celebration of the tenth anniversary of the United Nations will mark, not only the end of a decade in the life and work of this organisation, but also the opening of a new era in which the United Nations will, to a still greater degree, justify the hopes which mankind vested in it in nineteen fortyfive. Consistent in its policy of peace and of a comprehensive peace-loving cooperation, Yugoslavia will in the future, as it has in the past, lend every effort towards strengthening the role and significance of the United Nations.

The San Francisco Declaration

1. All members present at this celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations in San Francisco have reasserted their determination to save the future generations from the horrors of war. The ten years which have passed since June 26, 1945 have given a new meaning to this general desire of the nations, because they are aware that a new war, fought with new weapons, would impose untold hardships on humanity. The aim for which the people strive is peace based on the principles of security, justice and friendship among nations as stated in the Charter.

2. All Member-States have reaffirmed their loyalty to the aims and principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. They admit that the hope for the preservation of peace depends on the manner in which they

accept these aims and respect these principles in their mutual relations.

3. They have again asserted their readiness to exert new efforts to solve international disputes in the way prescribed by the Charter, i. e., by the use of peaceful means, so that world peace, security and justice should not be impaired. They have reasserted their determination to live in peace and friendship with one another.

4. They have also promised to endeavour to seek an agreement on disarmament, which will give greater security to the nations, and which will remove the danger of the atomic destruction of the world. They have expressed their faith in the will of the nations to use their resources, freed from the burdens of armaments, for the improving of the living conditions of the people.

PERMANENT NEUTRALITY OF AUSTRIA

Dr. Alfred VERDROSS

Professor of the University of Vienna and member of the Institute for International Law

AS it is known, the Moscow memorandum of April 15th, 1955 provides for the permanent neutrality of Austria on the lines of Switzerland — a neutrality which will have to be recognized by the Great Powers who, however in the introductory part of the State Treaty signed in Vienna on June 15th, have pledged to support Austria's claim for membership in the United Nations Organization. Consequently the question arises how to reconcile the permanent neutrality of a state with its membership in the United Nations.

It is, above all, necessary to point to the fact that, during the past few decades, the idea of neutrality has come to be understood quite differently. From the middle of last century right until the outbreak of the First World War, neutrality was unreservedly accepted, as those countries which did not take part in the war were considered to be a haven of peace, whose mission it was to mitigate the scourge of war and to act as mediators between the belligerent sides and thus permanently to contribute to the strengthening of relations between various countries of the world. However, already at the beginning of our century, the concept of neutrality began to change gradually. For example, Albéric Rolin, the well-known Belgian scientist, in a report submitted to the Brussels Academy of Science in 1924, stated that neutrality had become a poorly appreciated institution, since all states are morally bound to offer effective aid to those members of the League of Nations which are attacked. Consequently, maintaining a position of neutrality in wartime is a sign of egoism and cowardice, said Rolin, whose report concluded with the following observation: »The organization of the League of Nations is the negation of neutrality. The Statute of the League of Nations has dealt neutrality a deathly blow. When, in other words, the League of Nations will gather sufficient strength from all member-states and when the remaining nations enter this Organization, neutrality's last hour will have struck.« So it was thought at the time, when the newly founded League of Nations was looked up to with great hopes. But not only Rolin and those who shared his opinions represented this point of view; the very Statute of the League of Nations placed its members under the obligation, according to the conditions stipulated in Article 16, of playing their part in every war forbidden by the Statute, by breaking off economic and financial relations with the country which had started the forbidden war and allowing free passage over their territory to those troops taking part in military sanctions.

But despite this, the League of Nations did not succeed in fully attaining these aims because it recognized the exceptional position of Switzerland, which had not only remained neutral in various wars, but had consistently ever since the end of the 17th century conducted a policy of neutrality which was recognized and guaranteed by the powers which took part at the Congress of Vienna on November 20, 1815. Such a state — as opposed to the temporary, periodic neutrality of a country — is called lasting or permanent neutrality. A permanently neutral state is, according to international law, bound not only not to take part in any war, but also in peacetime, not to enter into any undertakings likely to involve it in a war. In order to acquire such a status, Switzerland was at first satisfied to be freed by the League of Nations from the obligation of allowing foreign troops to cross her territory in the event of a war being sanctioned. At that time she did in fact hold the view that her participation in economic and financial sanctions was completely in accordance with her permanent neutrality. However, when applying a sanction against Italy at the time of the Italo-Ethiopian war, Switzerland saw that this attitude was full of contradictions as it could not be expected of any state to treat that country which had raised a blockade against it as neutral. Switzerland

officially took up that point of view when she declared that in the future she would take no further part in economic sanctions. This was also recognized by the League of Nations. It is quite understandable that, in the light of all these experiences, Switzerland at the end of the Second World War became even more cautious of the new organizations of states than she had been of the League of Nations. So, during the whole post-war period, Switzerland only joined the International Court of Justice, as she still adheres to the old and tested principle of settling disputes by peaceful means. As opposed to this, she has not, even to the present day, requested membership in the United Nations, although, the system and attitude of this organization towards the question of neutrality is not as rigid as that of the Statute of the League of Nations. While the Statute under the above mentioned Article 16, bound all members without exception, immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, to raise an economic blockade against the illegal aggressor, the new Statute, namely the Charter, states only that the Security Council should establish beyond dispute any breach of peace and entrusts the Council the tasks of determining measures to be undertaken.

In the same way, the Security Council itself decides which states should be executors of the action adopted by the United Nations. According to this, no member-nation is forced to undertake any measures before the Security Council makes the relevant decision. It is beyond dispute, therefore, that the Council can respect the neutrality of a State by the very fact that it would not order it to undertake any sanctions. Moreover, the obligation involved in military measures which here include permission for the passage of foreign troops, according to Article 43 of the Charter — comes into effect only after the concluding of a special agreement between the Security Council and one of the member-nations. Before such an agreement is concluded, the Security Council cannot demand that any country take part in military actions or allow foreign troops to cross its territory.

But when all the Great Powers unanimously recognize the permanent neutrality of a certain state, it will be easy for them to obtain in the Security Council the majority required to guarantee, in principle, the neutrality of countries as Austria within the framework of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations does not in fact recognize the definite authority of the Security Council for carrying out such decisions, but this authority derives from the fact that the Council, on the basis of the Charter, has the power to decide according to its own lights which member-states will have to carry out the stipulated sanctions.

Such a decision would, moreover, accord with the tendency of the latest development of international law, according to which neutrality is once again positively assessed. So, for example, the securing of an armistice in Korea was entrusted to neutral countries. Furthermore, the fact that the implementation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions for the protection of war victims was placed under the control of neutral countries, confirms once more that neutral countries must exist in the interest of humanity. But neutrality alone would be worthless if it were not closely associated with a firm resolution to protect neutral territory against the aggressor. Hence the right of self-defence which is provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations also represents a serious obligation for every neutral country.

U. N. CHARTER AND THE DUTY OF ACTIVE COEXISTENCE

Dr. Milan BARTOŠ

Professor of Belgrade University

TRADITIONAL international law struggled between two fundamental ideas on the composition of the international community. On the one hand, there was the idea that the international community existed among states having a similar legal civilization, the same basis of civilian rights, or better said, the ownership relation and, on the other hand, the idea that the international community ought to exist among all states regardless of their internal organization, and that the international community leaves it to every nation to determine alone its own internal economic, political and social organization. This idea dominated for a very long time over international law. The so called classical international law, that is, the law prevailing in the 19th century, especially after the Vienna Congress and up to the end of the century, considered that only a small number of states comprise the international community.

The older writers at the beginning of the 19th century called this community — a community of Cristian peoples. This undoubtedly is a remnant of the past, but the conception was all the more correct as Cristianity, in essence, tallied with the civilization of the white race. It was felt that everything that is not included in that legal civilization does not belong to the community of civilized nations. I recall with deep sympathy one of my friends at the Paris Faculty of Law, a young Chinese scientist who bitterly criticized this conception of the notion of civilized peoples. Deeply hurt by the placing of this barrier which prevented his great homeland from entering the rank of civilized peoples, he pleaded, in his thesis, against violence, against the forging of facts, against the renouncing of historical events, against the attempts made to exclude China, an old civilized country, with great tradition and continuity, from the ranks of civilized countries. The subsequent writers, or, better said, the liberals in the European sense, or perhaps the anticlericalists, changed the name, but not the essence too. They felt that the international community is made up of peoples who have adopted the legal civilization of the white race, or better said, who attained a certain standard in the European law, in the economic, social and political institutions. The notion of Cristian civilized nations was lost here, but the conception of a privileged civilization of the European type appeared, with its decisive right to assess alone the degree attained by its successors and to bring some of them closer or include them in its circle. Only in 1899 did Europe and America consider that the reforms in Japan were such that Japan had become a state which could be admitted to the circle of the international community. Turkey, for instance, obtained only in the middle of the 19th century the right to be a limited member of the international community. As a political subject, she was traditionally outside the circle of other states, while at the same time she was retained under the regime of capitulation, that is, under the law of foreign consuls who "dispensed justice" on the territory of the Ottoman Empire in all cases of disputes between their nationals and the Turkish citizens. This inequality was a characteristic of the 19th century, but it was eliminated only during World War II. As regards China, the declarations of the big powers, under which they renounce capitulations, were adopted only in 1942.

At any rate, the legal form was only a reflection of the real state of affairs of the political inequality of states. At the Hague International Public Law Conference, the speakers of the big powers openly defended the theory according to which only legal equality can exist among states, and not political equality also, for the big powers assume greater responsibilities as regards the maintenance of the international order and, consequently, must also have greater political rights to be able to meet their obligations.

This, in fact, is a continuation of the idea of the Vienna Congress on the European concert, the revised idea of the Holy Alliance, according to which they were bound to guard the legitimacy of the established relations in the international community. Or, in other words, this is a loyal picture of the conception of the European concert which claimed, from the 1860s until the beginning of World War I, the right to determine the fate of the world in such a way that its decisions were valid, even though they applied to the big powers which did not agree with them. The small states were compelled to execute those decisions if they were unanimously adopted by the big powers, that is, the British Empire, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, France, Italy and in some cases the United States (on account of their own isolation through the Monroe Doctrine, the United States limited their action in the field of foreign policy to cases in which they were interested directly or territorially) and Japan, which had limited rights owing to its geographic position. These powers considered that they could determine the fate of the world through the Conference of Ambassadors in London.

In this conception, the European concert represented, in essence, a policy of balance and coexistence of the big powers, but not the coexistence of the big and small nations too. The big powers were protected by the acts of other big powers which were to be carried out to the detriment of their interests, and they operated as the only actual subjects with the power to make decisions in the fields of international policy and international law. Under those circumstances the small powers had to live in the shadow of the big powers, to exist through their disagreements or to consciously link up with one of them and become its loyal clients. After 1848, there were no real ideological differences among the big powers. The internal systems of the big powers were based on bourgeois conceptions with greater or smaller elements of the remnants of feudalism. There is no doubt that the accumulation of capital and the unequal economic development of the big powers themselves have led to the



United Nations Palace in New York

formation of imperialism and of the imperialistic wars as the only „solution” of conflicts after the concluded division of the world, which did not represent the coexistence of nations, but on the contrary, the inequity and nonrecognition of the equality of nations and states. Legal practice, as well as the legal regulations of the Berlin General Act of 1885, allowed the big powers to extend their colonial rule to their possessions beyond Europe (including America, at that time completely occupied) regardless of whether a people of non-European civilization lived on those territories, and regardless of whether this people had a stronger or weaker internal organization. Whereas they were beyond the international community, most of the so called aborigine states were not recognized and their territories were considered as „No Man's Land”, as an object for forcible occupation. Some writers sentimentally recommended to the occupier not to shed blood, if possible, but to confer with the local chiefs on how to carry out the occupation in the easiest way. We meet such conceptions even with the relatively progressive Mileta Novaković in his textbook „International Law”, published in the period between the two wars.

After the establishment of the League of Nations the situation did not change much. The League of Nations is a league of states or nations which govern themselves alone. This means, nations which do not have this status, are not included in the League of Nations. But the sovereign equality of states in the League of Nations was more formal than real. The colonial status of some of the members, such as India, or the semicolonial status of some other countries, the conception that the regime of capitulation was a normal situation — all this shows that the League of Nations was not an organization which fought for the equalization of states and nations in their rights. This was more of an association of states which were to guard a definite, order. The absence of some of the big states in the League of Nations, the stand taken by some of the big powers, prevented the League of Nations from having a creative role in the international relations. It was a palliative in the hands of England and France, which did not succeed just as the policy of these two powers did not succeed.

The fascist states which caused the Second World War were based on the doctrine of the inequality of states and nations, on the basis of the right of the big nations to living space and the right to determine alone the position of others states and on the duty of these states to yield to the interests of the big and dominant states. All this necessarily restricted the idea of coexistence to those who were given the right to living space. Strictly speaking, this was not a theory about the big and the small, but about the strong and the weak. Germany considered herself authorised to govern the new Europe, while she politely mentioned Italy as her partner, although she never considered Italy as her equal. In this living space, France was a power of secondary importance, while the USSR were, in advance, deprived of the right to defend that territory which was allegedly necessary for Germany's development. A conception contrary to any coexistence, based on equality and peacefulness.

These facts explain the reason why the anti-Hitlerite coalition rallied during the war and why a new theory of inter-state relations crystallized. Not only peace, not only the condemnation of war and the organization of the world for the preservation of peace and international security, but also the safeguarding of the equality among the big and small states and nations, the renunciation by the states of the resort to compulsion against the territorial integrity and political independence of other states, whether in the Organization or not, the observance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, the acceptance of the contracting clauses only insofar as they are in harmony with the provisions of the Charter, and finally the consciousness that the Organization is created by states having different legal civilizations, different social organizations, based on different ideologies and pleading for international cooperation among them. The United Nations Charter thus lays down the idea of political and legal coexistence as a fundamental international duty, and proclaims the United Nations as the basic instrument of such cooperation and the guardian of peace and international security.

Many only kept to the provisions of Par. 6 of Art. 2 and Art. 103 of the UN Charter in order to construct the idea of coexistence. They came to the following conclusion: on the one hand, member-states are bound to respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all states in the world, although being aware that there is no uniform ideological or doctrinal view among these states,

adding to this that these states have been admitted to the Organization with unequal state and social organizations and that they do not wish to construct any inequality of future relations from this state or social organization. The states thereby renounce the fact that they want to put up their conceptions on the state or social organization as a model for which the Organization will fight. By raising the right of peoples to self-determination from the level of a moral principle to that of a legal norm, these states recognize in advance the right of every people to determine alone the tenor and form of its state, social and economic order. Adding to this also the duty of states not to change, through contractual relations, the principles and obligation issuing from the Charter (for Art. 103 of the Charter provides that in the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the Charter will prevail, which means, in other words, that such obligations are valid only if they are in conformity with the principles of the Charter) the states are deprived of the possibility to request from other states, even through diplomatic channels, to renounce their sovereign equality and political independence, their territorial integrity, and especially their right to self-determination. Considering that the UNO is in essence, an organization for the safeguarding of the rights of nations to equality and self-determination, a number of legal experts, commentators of the UN Charter, start from the conception that the states which have been admitted to the UN, are bound not only to peacefully coexist with the nations having a different political or social organization and different doctrinal conceptions, but also to protect them from any attack through collective measures.

This means that the coexistence of the big and small nations, as well as the coexistence of the big powers which were aware in advance that they do not have equal doctrinal conceptions when they were being admitted into the Organization, represents the basis of the new international order, which is recognized as the basis for the establishment of the United Nations and of modern international law.

Ten years of the existence of the United Nations have not shown that this Organization has been the center of the efforts of all nations to implement the principles of the UN Charter. The differences were too great, the interests too varied, the tendency to prestige and the fear of the danger that one side would attack the other too strong to be able to speak of a real and general international cooperation. Nevertheless, these ten years of the common life and existence of the United Nations as an international apparatus have proved that this coexistence existed, that peace has been preserved in the main lines, that the links among nations who belonged to that community have not been broken, that talks were continued despite the fact that the world feared that Klauzewicz's theory would be applied any time — a theory according to which the transition of peace to war is only a transfer of leadership in the field of foreign policy from the diplomatic to the military apparatus — that this is the continuation of foreign policy with other means.

Although everybody was aware that war is forbidden, all feared that war would occur. The fear was all the greater the more science and technique progressed. Just as the revolution in artillery was the result of the machine revolution, which applied the modern principles of technique to the quickfiring artillery, to the navy (steam and oil) and enabled the establishment of the airforce, which expanded the sphere of war action to the air space, so the progress achieved in atomic and nuclear physics and chemistry have been made available to general destruction. Nevertheless, there are some differences in comparison with the past. Earlier the accomplishments of physics and mechanics were applied first in industry, then used for armament purposes; now, the discoveries made in physics and chemistry have been made available first to armament and destruction. Scientific laws are considered as military secrets and their application for peacetime purposes depend on the agreement of the military factors. Thus, atomic chemistry and physics, two bases of nuclear science, caused a revolution in the war technique before they became an instrument of the changes in the economic relations. Partners became equally dangerous both to themselves and to the whole mankind. There is a contradiction in the armament race — to develop, under unequal or nearly parallel conditions, the potential forces of armaments of all the partners, and thus establish a state of balance in that field also, which prevented one partner from squaring accounts with the other without taking a great risk. This is the essential thing.

It is in such a complex political situation, when it appears that the culminating point has been reached in the present armament conditions, when the blocs have shown what successes they have achieved as regards the creation of means for general destruction, that the Indian — Yugoslav initiative of active coexistence was taken. This conception of coexistence does not imply only the duty to refrain from threatening peace, but also the duty of all nations, whether they belong to the United Nations or not, and primarily those within the United Nations, to develop their abilities and concert their efforts with other nations in developing active international cooperation in all fields. It is particularly the duty of all nations to extend aid to those nations which have not yet reached their full development or which are underdeveloped. The basic meaning of active cooperation consists in going beyond the ideological differences existing among nations. If nations have their own ideologies which are diverse, this cannot be the cause for either mutual attacks or mutual interference in internal affairs, or even for denying international cooperation. When the United Nations Organization was established, its founders were aware that such Organization would be an Organization of states having different social orders. That is why they proclaimed that peoples have the right to self-determination and can have different ideologies. They laid down for all nations, regardless of ideology, the task of developing mutual cooperation. This means that nations dare not arm in order to attack one another, that they must arm to the extent required for them to have only those arms which are necessary for their own and collective defense. All the UN nations must cooperate in order to derive benefit from that cooperation and to selflessly help those which require such cooperation. To make it possible to implement the United Nations principles, it is not sufficient to recognize only passive coexistence, that is, to refrain from attacking others and not to ask others for that which is contrary to the United Nations Charter; active coexistence is necessary, which means unselfish endeavours or the implementation of the principles of the Charter both for one's own benefit and for the benefit of other nations. It is necessary to cooperate with the United Nations not only to obtain assistance for one's self or realize one's own prestige; this cooperation should be sincere, unselfish and open to all who require it. Thereby, the basic idea of such cooperation should be the joint raising of the level of all nations, especially of those which are underdeveloped. The United Nations forum must be free. It must serve the creation of the climate necessary for the respect of the principles of the Charter in relation to all nations, and nobody can be prevented from loyally dealing with international problems from that forum, from defending the rights of other nations so that they could be realized through peaceful channels. Nobody dare misuse this forum or imposing their own doctrine and their conceptions upon other nations, or for making the rendering of assistance dependent on the political attitude of these nations. The United Nations member-states must consult with each other, assure each other, defend their conceptions, but they must not be accused because their doctrines, organization and basic views are not identical.

We believe that the question of the transition from the doctrine of passive coexistence to the principles of active coexistence is a question of time. While passive coexistence, as a doctrine, was useful at the time of tension, it cannot be the ideal of the United Nations, neither can it be marked as a satisfactory minimum of the legal duty of the United Nations member-states towards their Organization. Passive coexistence is only a starting point. The United Nations have not been established for states to vegetate and exist, but to develop, to harmoniously cooperate among themselves. By the very fact that the United Nations Charter has prescribed the duty of cooperation in many fields, primarily in the political, economic, social, health, intellectual and humanitarian fields, this cooperation ought to be universal and should lead to the organizing of an exchange of experience and mutual aid in all directions. Just as peace is indivisible, which is generally recognized today, so is the progress of mankind. The highly developed countries cannot find partners for exchange and cooperation if other nations also do not raise their cultural standard and economic possibilities. Science dare not be the selfish fruit of one nation. It must serve mankind. The United Nations have set as their aim the prosperity of all peoples without distinction as to sex, language, race, colour, religion, culture, civilization or thought. They have set



Mrs. Pandit and Mr. Hammarskjöld

themselves the task of creating a codex of human rights and of human fundamental freedoms. They have set themselves the task of cooperating in the educational, health and humanitarian fields, and without the aid of the whole mankind, we do not see the possibility of realizing this cooperation. That is why the active coexistence of nations requires the safeguarding of peace, the joint cooperation of all nations, and mutual aid according to possibilities. This aid ought to be primarily in favour of the underdeveloped nations and should come from all those who can grant it, to all those who need it, and this, through the United Nations and according to the aims and principles of the Charter.

Only when states adopt these conceptions, when they reject the division into blocs and when an atmosphere of trust and respect of all nations is created in all areas, will the United Nations be able to attain their goal. Such a conception of the role of the United Nations shows that their aim is peaceful and active coexistence among all nations.

Discussions can be held on the details and aspects of international cooperation, but not on whether the idea of peaceful active coexistence is the legal obligation of the United Nations members. They are bound to cooperate mutually, through the United Nations, in all fields of human activity, thereby observing not only the principles of the UN Charter, but also the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states. If this is the legal duty of all the member-states of the United Nations, then the appeal to peaceful active coexistence is nothing else but a reminder to those who have neglected their duty. The New Delhi Declaration issued by President Tito and Premier Nehru heralded the new era in the relations among the United Nations members. The easing of the atmosphere of tension and the speeches delivered at San Francisco on the anniversary of the signing of the Charter, show that the United Nations intend to pass, in the new decade of its existence, from passive coexistence to active coexistence. And this means, in essence, the proper and complete implementation of the legal duties formulated and adopted in the United Nations Charter.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF UNO

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The tenth anniversary of the United Nations, which was marked by a formal session of the General Assembly in San Francisco, served not only as a reminder to mankind of a date, the historical significance of which few people will contest today, but also as an opportunity for taking stock of the Organization's work and, on this basis, of taking glance at its future.

When reviewing the work of the UNO, that which seems to us to be most important is not so much the individual successes and failures of the United Nations in the various fields of its work, nor even the fact whether or to what extent this or that question has been settled within the framework of the Organization or outside it — although that is naturally of no small importance — as the general part played by the Organization in post-war international affairs and its influence upon the trend of these events.

This review of the general work of UNO, so it seems to us, is the surest basis for an assessment — which cannot be avoided today — of the future prospects and possibilities of the work of the United Nations.

It would be difficult even for those for whom the tenth anniversary of the United Nations does not otherwise give cause for exaggerated optimism, not to agree with the opinion of Walter Lippman that it would not have been possible to celebrate UNO's tenth anniversary at all if «it had not proved itself to be a universal and necessary organization.» In other words, the very fact that the United Nations has survived all the storms and crises of post-war international development and is in a position to celebrate its tenth anniversary, certainly shows more clearly than it was possible to imagine ten years ago, that the UN is not some ad hoc creation of the countries that were victorious in the Second World War, nor a mere more or less successful rationalization of the experiences of that victory, nor even simply a means for satisfying the longing of nations exhausted by years of suffering and bloodshed for an enduring and lasting peace — although it has answered to some of these descriptions. Today indeed it is difficult to doubt — and this is sometimes overlooked — that the Organization created ten years ago in San Francisco fulfils a deep objective need of the modern world, a need which, as Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, emphasized at the anniversary session, «arises out of the progress of industrial countries and the ever closer interdependence of all nations in all spheres» and is inevitably leading to a general unity of consciousness and interests.

This fact, the fact that the UN has met one of the fundamental needs of the present-international developments and that the conception on the basis of which it has been created is in line with the general tendencies of those developments — explains the role it plays in international affairs. Arising from the objective needs of the international developments, it has, for its part, performed the function of directing international relations into channels required by such developments, or, in other words, it has opposed those tendencies which were not in accord with the needs of these developments. Enough has been said about the negative effect of general international relations on the work and prospects of the UN, about the way in which those conditions, and particularly the cold war with all the events which accompanied it, acted upon it. All this is indisputable but it represents only one side of the picture. The other side which, in our opinion, is particularly important to look at now, is the effect of the UN upon the world situation. Where is this effect to be observed?

The United Nations, first and foremost, represents the idea of world unity and so reflects those objective tendencies which, primarily in the economic field, tend towards this unity, thereby creating a counterbalance, the impor-

tance of which should not be underestimated, to those incontestably powerful and partially successful subjective efforts to divide the world artificially, to disrupt it economically, politically and culturally. The basic principles on which the Organization is founded are the negation of the criteria according to which this disruption has been carried out and attempts to justify it have been made. There is a fundamental opposition between the military, particularly the ideological, blocs and the Charter which is based on the idea of universal collective security without any ideological elements. That is to say, the Organization provides a universal framework for settling problems of international peace and security which acknowledges the principle of the indivisibility of peace in present-day conditions, and moreover a framework that is universal not only in the geographical sense, but also in the sense that it embraces those numerous factors — economic, social and political — which in the present-day world constitute the problem of peace. Finally an Organization in which members of all, otherwise hostile, camps, took part, an Organization from which no one wanted to withdraw and which all wanted to enter, had of necessity to work on a plane transcending such conflicts and to smooth out the differences between opposing sides. This means — if we may put it bluntly as well as accurately — that the UN has undoubtedly done something to ensure that, even at a time when various centrifugal tendencies were at their height, «the world should not disintegrate.»

Offering thus a framework for international co-operation in present-day conditions, the UN has at the same time provided a basis and shown the means for such co-operation. This basis is provided by the principles of the Charter — principles which the present-day situation imposes upon us and which the conscience of humanity has undoubtedly accepted as the only possible basis for co-operation between nations and states. It will probably be said that no great attention has been paid to these principles in practice as regards international relations. This is however, only partially true. If these principles have been ignored, certainly few people have dared openly to renounce them: they have been appealed to even when they have been violated. This, it seems to us, is something more than, as the French say, «l'hommage que le vice rend à la vertu.» Feeling themselves compelled before world opinion to present their position in such a way as would make it appear less opposed to the principles of the Charter, certain states had actually to modify their conduct — at least to a certain extent — in accordance with these principles and this prevented those tendencies which constituted the greatest threat to peace from getting into their stride. At the same time the United Nations, by its very existence, has constantly reminded the world of the possibility of pursuing some other policy than that which has almost brought humanity to the edge of the abyss, and thereby curbed the extreme manifestations of that policy, or at least prevented nations from taking an attitude of fatalistic resignation towards it.

The part played by the UN in mobilizing public opinion against a policy which has led to an ever greater tension in international relations, and in encouraging a policy of peace, the basic elements of which have become steadily clearer, is one of the important ways in which UNO has influenced the international situation. This role would not have been possible if the aims and principles of the UN had not coincided with the deepest aspirations of the nations or reflected a real need. The very fact that the various UN bodies have often been made the scene of propaganda duels — which is one of the most negative repercussions of this Cold War within the framework of the very Organization, means, in fact, an acknowledgement of the UN.

However, the role of the UN in strengthening those subjective forces, if we can so call them, on which a positive policy of peace could be founded in accordance with the principles of the UN, was not confined to this. Within the framework of the Organization, those countries which, by virtue of their place in international events, found themselves orientated towards a policy essentially opposed to power policy and blocs, attained an ever greater degree of self-expression and became increasingly aware of their own significance and of the paths they ought to follow. It is not necessary to remind ourselves of the ever greater and more independent part played by countries in Asia and Africa which attained their independence recently, and by a number of small countries in general, in the various branches of the UN, particularly in the General Assembly, in the settlement of social, economic and colonial questions as well as fundamental political problems. The part played by these countries has, to a steadily growing extent, contributed to a certain smoothing out of differences between the two blocs in the Organization and has prevented these differences from breaking up the Organization itself. At the same time it has made the general structure of the UN more democratic, thereby helping to facilitate its positive influence on international relations. This has meant simultaneously an increase in the importance of the general part played by these countries in a wider international frame-

work. In this sense it could be said that the United Nations prepared the way for Bandung, as Bandung, in its turn, constitutes a significant contribution to the principles of the UN.

By the general role it plays in international events, the United Nations has, in no small measure, helped to check those tendencies which generated international tension and which, if they had been allowed to develop freely, would in all probability have led to a third world war. The United Nations has certainly done enough to relax world tension and has at the same time and to a large extent, done much to ensure that, as a result of this relaxation, there would be prospects for transforming such relaxation into a lasting peace, that is, a peace based on the principles of the UN Charter, a peace which would permit the pursuing of the policy of active co-existence.

Despite all its weaknesses and shortcomings, the United Nations in the course of its ten years of life and work, has undoubtedly helped, by its influence upon the development of international relations, to create conditions in which its part can become even greater, more fruitful and constructive. This role is at once necessary if the favourable tendencies which are today becoming clearer in international relations are to continue and lead to such a peace as mankind dreamt of years ago when the Conference of San Francisco took place.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT AND THE U. N. CHARTER

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THE United Nations has inherited the task which its predecessor — the League of Nations — failed to achieve. This task is: to exclude war as a means of international policy, to set up a system of collective security and to establish methods of peaceful intercourse and international cooperation among the peoples of the world. But, except for this basic task, one should not expect to find many essential similarities between the League of Nations and United Nations. Some similarities do exist, but they are superficial. There are very many differences between these two organizations of world peace — differences of structure and internal organization, differences between the relations existing among members, differences pertaining to the type and scope of their competence, and also to procedure. Great differences also exist as regards the conditions under which the two organizations were founded and functioned.

The Covenant of the League of Nations was a brief document containing some twenty clauses, almost exclusively confined to organizational rules and regulation of procedure for the settlement of disputes among member-states. Within this organizational and procedural framework, the member-states of the League of Nations were to create a new law, by solving questions in dispute by and coming to an understanding about other questions, — actually to give a real content to the League of Nations. It must be said immediately that in this regard the League of Nations did not leave a big heritage, although certain results were achieved.

The United Nations Charter, however, is an extensive document with over a hundred clauses, which, in addition to procedure, set forth the principles on the tasks of the international community, on the relations, rights and obligations of members and their obligations towards other peoples. The United Nations Charter has itself given a certain content to the international organization which it founded, and prescribed to it certain political and moral principles by which it was to be guided.

In comparison with the Covenant, the Charter is a great step forward in the conception of the international community. Certain unfavourable experiences of the League of Nations undoubtedly served as a warning at the time of the creation of the United Nations. However the

Charter does not constitute in this regard a supplemented and corrected edition of the Covenant; it embodies an entirely new conception of the system of collective security. In the final instance — and to be quite brief — the Covenant imposed to all member-states the duty to fulfil the obligations accepted under the Covenant. The Charter organizes a more direct intervention of the Organization in the prevention of conflicts and the repression of aggression.

The League of Nations constituted a new international organization, the first of its kind in the history of international relations, but it was built in the spirit of classical conceptions of international relations and international policy, practised at international conferences, it was based on full sovereignty in the classical sense and on complete respect for the sensitivities and prestige of member-states, on their unanimity, as a general and exclusive rule for deciding on political questions. The United Nations Organization, however, adopted new rules on relations between its members. It also ensures the full internal independence and sovereignty of its members, but, especially in the matter of security — it contains certain restrictions of sovereignty in international relations. The system of collective security of the United Nations has certain characteristics of integration in the taking of collective measures and certain elements of supernationality in the procedure for the removal of conflicts and the suppression of aggression. The priority of the general interest of peace over the sovereignty of national interests is more emphatically stressed in the Charter than it was in the Covenant. The Charter has not gone as far in other matters, where only recommendations may be made, but even these must be adopted by proclamation and not merely unanimously. It rejects the principle of unanimity on which the League of Nations Covenant was based, but it has retained it in a double exception: only in the Security Council and only for the five big powers, permanent members of that Council.

If we compare it with the corresponding period of the United Nations, the first decade of the League of Nations, constituted a comparatively peaceful period of classical diplomatic activities, in an atmosphere of protocol discussions, careful words and diplomatic measures. The delegates endeavoured to find formulas if not for the final settlement of important questions, then at least for avoiding to endanger the authority of the organization in which they sat.



In this they succeeded sometimes, and sometimes they failed. One of the most serious failures of the League of Nations was on the question of sanctions against Italy after the latter's aggression against Ethiopia, which compromised the whole system of collective security of the League of Nations. (The United Nations had more favourable results in the case of the Korean war). But it must be said, regardless of the later bloody denial, that this phase of the League of Nations saw the laying of the first foundations of the international condemnation of war through the Briand-Kellogg Pact which received later, at the Nuremberg trials its criminal law sanctions. The League of Nations, just as the United Nations now, had its permanent items on the agenda, which — so far with equal success — have been adopted by the United Nations, for example the problem of disarmament or the problem of the definition of aggression — to name only a few.

The League of Nations entered its period of crisis at the beginning of its second decade, on the ascent of Hitler to power, but once this crisis came, it went from bad to worse, until it ended in catastrophe. From the moment Germany left the League of Nations disarmament conference, events succeeded each other, each dealing blows to the League of Nations: the withdrawal of Germany and Japan from the League, Italy's attack on Ethiopia, the withdrawal of the decision on sanctions against Italy, the Anschluss in Austria, the shattering of Czechoslovakia and finally the attack on Poland, which launched the Second World War.

The United Nations, besides some other manifestations, was also the scene of sterile debates, and many happenings in that body were more serious than any in the League of Nations. It has been the scene of more open and unscrupulous propaganda, of uncouth diplomatic vocabulary, and political quarrels; but the organization nonetheless overcame and is overcoming the crisis revealed by these happenings, and succeeded in preventing their possibly tragic consequences. In its period of crisis, precisely the United Nations confirmed its vitality and justified its existence. One of the proofs of this is to be found in the universal support which this Organization, as well as the principles on which it is based, received at the recent commemoration of the signing of the Charter. The United Nations, which had a troubled life during the last ten years, fought against failures, was the object of severe censure and cause for much disillusion, received in San Francisco authoritative and solemn assurances of its usefulness and its noble task, of its great prestige and the loyalty which it inspires. This, on the one hand, testifies to the actual affirmation which the Organization, despite all the reproaches made against it, nevertheless achieved in the world, and on the other hand, to the conviction which all the forces and all the factors of world policy had to reach in the end — namely, that the path followed in the past period, outside the framework, regardless of the principles, and neglecting the methods of the United Nations, holds great dangers and would lead to disaster if pursued any longer.

After the Second World War, the United Nations found itself in a much more difficult situation, faced with much more complex conditions than the League of Nations after the First World War. It was conceived during the war, in the general atmosphere of solidarity which prevailed in the anti-Hitlerite coalition, when the perspective of post-war developments was not clear, and it started functioning before the war ended and before agreement was reached on the most important problems which resulted from Allied victory. Hence, the member-countries, and especially the big powers, entered the new Organization with open problems, with contradictory political aims, with mutually unclear accounts. The Charter was an unsuitable mechanism for

ensuring the settlement of these matters while the General Assembly was an unsuitable forum. From the very beginning, before the Organization was properly set-going, the United Nations was drawn into the quarrels of the big powers, while a series of countries were exposed to the influences or pressure from one or the other side.

With the League of Nations there was more order and the situation was clearer in this regard. The Covenant of the League of Nations was the component part of the peace treaty and it entered into force simultaneously with the treaty. One of the basic tasks of the League was defence of the order based on the peace treaty. Therefore, there existed a fixed legal and political platform, on which the League had been set up, a ready framework of relations in which the activity of the League was to develop. The question of victory had been settled and the defeated countries were also admitted to the League a little later. The crisis occurred when Hitler undertook to overthrow this order by a violent revision of the peace treaties, and when in the face of these actions, there started tactical moves among the big powers and against Hitler.

In the League of Nations there existed a certain unity of political and social conceptions — despite all the conflicting interests and different goals and tendencies among the member-states. This was an organization of nineteenth century Europe, of the order of bourgeois democracy such as emerged from the First World War. The great social movements and social awakening of the nations, brought about by the October Revolution, which were to develop gradually all over the world, were not yet influencing to any great extent the relations in the League of Nations. The Soviet Union, which after its emergence from revolution was upholding a new social order and which would have introduced a certain disharmony into such an old order atmosphere where diplomatic traditions were observed, was kept out of the League until 1934, and the European countries were slow in establishing diplomatic relations with it. It was sent to Coventry by the bourgeois western world. Its international activity was very lively, but it was also very cautious. It fought for international affirmation, for breaking the fetters of isolation, in which capitalist Europe had placed it. The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations only when clouds appeared on the horizon, when Germany and Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, in order to free themselves from international control, and when temperature was warming up rapidly. Hence its entry did not provoke a process of ideological intolerance, which characterized the first decade of the United Nations. A new war was looming ahead — a war which the coalition of German nazism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism was widely preparing.

The Soviet Union entered the League of Nations on the eve of a war, when danger dictated solidarity among those threatened, but it entered the United Nations after a war when there was no such danger in sight and when the common enemy had already been destroyed. Regardless of the later changes in its foreign policy as a result of its internal development, the Soviet Union entered the Organization as a big victorious power and as the upholder of the ideas of a new world standing in opposition to the old order of the European bourgeoisie and its acquired positions in the world. Hence the very beginning of United Nations activity saw the cropping up of problems of ideological contradiction, which subsequently attained such a high pitch.

Moreover, the League of Nations was an international organization with world tasks but yet a European instrument of world policy, although it also included non-European countries. The European great powers were the leading powers in the League of Nations. It was dominated by the relations between European powers both in Europe and outside Europe and within its frame ruled the European traditions and European conceptions of both European and non-European affairs. It was the upholder of European hegemony.

The United Nations never had such a European character. There are several reasons for this, all stemming from the development of international relations and closer inter-connection of international problems in the world after the Second World War, from all-round technical progress and the increasing role of non-European peoples in world policy. But one of the reasons is also to be found in the participation of the United States of America which, after the last war, abandoned its traditional policy of isolation — it was on the basis of that policy that the United States had refused to join the League of Nations — and became one of the most active and most influential mem-

bers of the United Nations, thanks to its character and its means. The European problems got linked with the problems from the other parts of the world and they were no longer treated under the influence of the European powers, which emerged from the war politically and economically weakened, but as part of a complex of world interests and conflicts of two rival groups — the West and the East. The areas in which diplomatic manoeuvres were made, where problems cropped up and new factors of international policy were formed, where polarizations of influence of the big powers were going on, were extended far beyond the horizon of the pre-war League of Nations, which, compared to this colossus of world policy and world problems, now appears an embryonic and modest European undertaking.

When all these conditions, under which the United Nations Organization was to function, are borne in mind, then the excessively severe reproaches, provoked by certain of its failures, do not seem justified. On the contrary, the significant results which it nevertheless achieved in the field of international cooperation, testify to its vitality and authority, which it succeeded in preserving.

One of the important characteristics of the United Nations as compared to the League of Nations is in the different attitudes adopted by the two organizations towards the role which they had to play in the sphere of international economic, social and cultural policy. In this regard the attitude of the League of Nations was quite restricted, while the attitude of the United Nations is very broad.

The League of Nations remained an international organization for the settlement of political problems, for the development of peaceful relations among member-states, for a collective protection of common interests, for the removal of conflicts and the organization of a system of collective security. The League of Nations Covenant contains very few clauses about other forms of international cooperation or joint international action. In the system of the Covenant this is a matter of secondary importance and the international significance of economic and social problems was not sufficiently perceived. There was a paragraph in the Covenant which contained principles on the exercising of the mandates in non self governing territories and on the administration of colonies. But the trusteeship system and colonial policy of the League of Nations was inspired by the protection of interests of the mandatory and colonial powers and by the belief that the European states possessed trusteeship rights and had to fulfil a mission of civilization, not to lead the population of these areas towards independent national life. As regards the remaining problems of the economic, social and cultural policies, the interest of the League of Nations was concisely stated in a single declarative paragraph of well-meaning suggestions, (improvement of working conditions, just treatment in colonies, suppression of white slave traffic and trade in narcotic drugs, control of the sale of arms, pro-

blems of transport, fight against disease, coordination of work with the Red Cross Organization). The Covenant urged that these problems be solved by way of international conventions and through the creation of specialized agencies,

The United Nations did not reject the method of international conventions and specialized agencies, but adopted, in addition, its own competence in the implementation of international economic, social and cultural policies as one of the basic functions of the Organization itself, and it broadened this competence in a very great measure. It organized, on an international basis, the rendering of economic, technical and financial assistance to under-developed countries; it introduced a more efficacious international control in the sphere of trusteeship and colonies; it started broad activities with a view to raising the economic and cultural standard of backward nations. Although the concrete realization of this broad policy could not but be influenced by the unfavourable conditions under which the United Nations worked in the past decade, these activities nonetheless resulted in substantial benefits, and led to the setting up of a line of policy and precise plans. They are giving the United Nations, to a much greater extent, the character of an international organization with integral objectives of international cooperation.

The significance of these functions for the general progress of mankind and the improvement of living conditions in the world need not be specially insisted upon. But it is still of interest to stress the effect which these functions will have in the long-term action of an economic and social policy for the benefit of under-developed countries, by reducing the great differences which prevail among nations to-day as regards economic and cultural standards, differences which hinder the establishment of really equal relations in the field of international cooperation. The Charter rests on the principles of equality, but legal equality, under the conditions of big material inequalities, cannot be easily realized because of the general relation which exists between the legal organization and the material basis. This relation could be improved by means of an appropriate economic, social and cultural policy which would entail changes in the material conditions, and hence act also on the strengthening of the conditions of independence and equality of peoples. Therefore the economic and social action is not only a constructive action in relation to the peoples who reap benefits from it, but also a significant political contribution to the creation of the necessary conditions for an effective system of equality among the nations of the world, proclaimed by the Charter.

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The World and Nuclear Energy

PEACE OR ANNIHILATION

Hans THIRRING

University Professor, Vienna

The well known Austrian physicist, Dr. Hans Thirring, who, as early as 1946, published a study on the destructive power of hydrogen bombs, and, in 1948, the first estimates on the possible radioactive poisoning from the so called «atomic dust», has been kind enough to write the following article for us:

The advance of technical progress over the political maturity of mankind increases steadily, and failure of the efforts of the scientists all over the world to make clear to the public the imminent danger which threatens the world today would lead to the suicide of the human race.

What is the actual danger threatening us? It is this: complete rupture between the East and the West, which is considered «inevitable» by the café strategists who still hold to the ideas of the pre-atomic era, would lead to the total destruction of all big cities and industrial centers and to the death, following exposure to radio-active rays, of all those who might escape direct attack. Let us recall the tragic news released ten years ago, in August 1945: two bombs, two destroyed cities, and, one week later, the unconditional surrender of one of the most powerfully armed nations in the world.

At that time, the technique of atomic arms was only in its initial stage. Only three weeks had elapsed since the first experimental atomic bomb had been dropped in the Nagasaki desert, proving the theoretical exactitude of the scientists' calculations.

After having wrought in the technique of war a revolution which might be compared with the revolution provoked by the discovery of gun-powder, the atomic attack launched on Hiroshima and Nagasaki can be compared with the use of gun-fire in Berthold Shwarz's time. But the pace of the present development of technique is much faster than was the case towards the end of the Middle Ages, and technical advances which previously required whole centuries are now realized in a few years. After less than eight and a half years since the nightmarish attack on Hiroshima, a hydrogen bomb whose power was 600 times that of the first atomic bomb — which was already 2,000 times more powerful than the heavy bombs revishly in use — was dropped in the Pacific. We should be aware of the fact that there are now bombs which are already out of the experimental stage and whose power is 12 million times that of the heavy bombs which pounded our cities during World War II, causing damages whose traces can still be seen. But these figures were valid for 1954: when referring to the new 1955 or 1956 bombs, a new zero should be added.

COBALT BOMBS AND RADIO-ACTIVE DUST

We cannot today determine the limits of the destructive power of atomic arms. We have to take into account not only the effect of the hydrogen bomb — and one of them would be enough to destroy the biggest cities in the world much more thoroughly than was the case with Hiroshima — but also the much wider scope of the radio-active rays originating from its by-products. On March 1, 1954, the Japanese fishing boat «Fukuryu» was more than 130 kilo-

meters away from the site chosen for exploding the hydrogen bomb; however, part of its crew suffered serious burns caused by radio-active ashes carried away by the wind. But if the need was felt — and, in case of total war, all possible means would be undoubtedly resorted to, through despair or fear of complete capitulation — the effect of radio active rays could be multiplied by coating the bomb with cobalt. Due to the action of the rays emitted by the neutrons and caused by the explosion, ordinary cobalt (Co—59), which is inoffensive in itself, would be turned into its radio-active isotope, Co—60, which emits gamma-rays so powerful and so penetrating that the dust from one cobalt bomb only could poison irremediably an area as wide as Central Europe.

In this regard, we must take something else into consideration: Within a few decades, the countries which were the first to make atomic bombs will not be the only ones in possession of this arm of mass destruction. All the industrial States, big and small, which cooperate in the pacific use of atomic energy — which is steadily developing — will have sufficient stocks of radio-active matter to render uninhabitable, in case of total war, the cities and industrial centers of a neighbouring country. In the nuclear reactors which are the thermal sources of an atomic power station, what we call atomic ashes (or atomic residue) is formed permanently and in a short time; in average station, whose power would be that of the power station of a big city, these ashes contain an amount of radio-active matter whose effect is one billion times more powerful than the action of a medically preparer radium compound. (For the sake of the specialists, we should add that the action of the balance of durable products originating from the desintegration of uranium reaches 500 curies per kilowatt in a normal power station). Were long range bombers or rockets to drop sand or dust mixed with these ashes on the territory of an enemy country, the latter would suffer much heavier damages than from the effect of the conventional bombing methods. After the seventies of our century, either no war will be waged — which seems probable — or war will be tantamount to a radio-active extermination without precedent in the history of the world. In this era of stratospheric rockets and radio-active isotopes, to raze to the ground a city with a population of several million inhabitants will not be a difficult technical problem.

A REVOLUTION IN THE TECHNIQUE OF WAR

The rapid development of the modern technique of armaments acts in two directions — a fact which, unfortunately, many people still have not grasped. First of all, in relation with the gigantic machinery of war, the number and the quality of the human effective are steadily being reduced. The rain of radio-active dust which might spread over an area of more than 10,000 square kilometers following the explosion of a hydrogen bomb, could destroy all life wherever it is dense enough. Then it would be of no importance whatsoever to know whether the victims were brave or not, or how many divisions were in the destroyed sector.

Secondly, the supremacy of mass destruction weapons over conventional defensive armaments has reached such proportions that it is now impossible to conceive an effective defence. At the end of the pre-atomic era, that is, from 1940 to 1945, we have seen how illusory were the hopes Hitler and his marshals had placed in the power of their anti-aircraft mortar guns and other anti-aircraft. This disproportion between effectiveness of the defence and the effectiveness of the destruction has been steadily increasing, not only because of the existence of atomic arms, but also owing to the development of modern rockets, which are much less frequently mentioned, although their role in total war would be very important. Therefore the armament race we are witnessing today has lost the importance it had in a recent past, now gone forever.

THE BLITZKRIEG — AN ILLUSION

Many believe that the terrible destructive power of modern armaments might induce one of the main parties in the conflict between the East and the West to launch a blitzkrieg in order to annihilate his opponent and ensure for himself a definite supremacy in the world. But all those who are familiar with the technical and military advances realized since 1945 can prove irrefutably that such hopes are but futile illusions. The reason for this is as simple as it is irrefutable: the two big powers — the United States as well as the USSR — possess a reprisal apparatus which is less exposed to destruction than the nation as a whole.

What does that mean? Simply that, although the destruction of the big cities of an enemy country would be an easy task for the airforce of one or the other power, the airforce of neither country would be in a position to paralyze simultaneously the terrible reprisal apparatus which would be immediately set in action to contain aggression. One should not forget that, in the two hemispheres of our planet, long range bombers and guided missiles loaded with atomic matter stand ready to take off from their innumerable bases and come into action.

In 1940 and 1941, Hitler and his advisers still had reasons to believe they would come out of a blitzkrieg on the winning side. Nevertheless their calculations were proved to be wrong in the end. Today as well as in the future any aggressive war against a power possessing atomic arms would be not only a bad risk, but also a crazy adventure whose sequels would be tantamount to suicide.

Today the world is becoming more and more aware of these facts; in the last resort those whose voice is decisive today cannot ignore them any more. It is precisely owing to this circumstance that certain critical situations which developed in the course of the last ten years did not lead to a total squaring of accounts. The steady strengthening of the power of modern weapons does not increase the chances of victory; it only increases the certitude of total annihilation if the warning issuing from the rapid development of modern weapons goes unheeded.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

Dr. Dragoslav POPOVIC

Member of the "Boris Kidrič" Institute for Nuclear Research

IT was only recently that man became acquainted with nuclear energy, that he found a way of liberating it from atomic nuclei and using it at his will.

If we want to be precise, however, we can say that nuclear energy has been used on the earth ever since life appeared on it. For the sun gives the energy necessary for the maintenance of all living beings, and solar energy is nuclear in origin. On the sun atomic nuclei are constantly colliding, and, through nuclear processes, which we can now reproduce in laboratories, release enormous quantities of energy in form of light, heat and so on. Not only that. All sources of energy which man has so far been using for power purposes draw their origin from the sun. The energy of the water falls, for instance, which in power plants is transformed into electric energy, depends on the so called water cycle, which begins with the evaporation of moisture under the heat produced by the sun. Coal, which is today chief source of energy, is nothing but partially decomposed vegetable matter, whose growth also depended on solar radiation. We can say the same for crude oil as well. The use of nuclear energy on the earth, then, is not a new thing originally.

WHAT IS NEW IN THE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY

What is new is the fact that man is now in a position to produce nuclear energy and use it where and how he likes. For the first time in history man can use energy which is of an earthly origin. So far, he has been getting almost all the energy he needed from the sun, or through the action of the sun. Only some insignificant sources of energy, such as thermal springs and volcanoes, whose heat is in some places used for heating purposes and production of electric energy, can be said to be of an earthly origin.

Nuclear energy, which man now produces himself, is of such an origin. In principle it can be derived from all kinds of matter, for, as Einstein had calculated, a unit weight of matter possesses a definite quantity of energy. At present, man is capable of converting a part of the mass of uranium, thorium and hydrogen into energy, but in the future he might be able to release energy from other ele-

ments as well. Humanity, therefore, can now — for the first time in history — use greater quantities of energy from earthly sources, which are not dependent on the sun or any other part of the universe.

Nuclear physics is a new, still young branch of science and technology. It is not yet seventeen years since the process of splitting the atom of uranium, on which the use of nuclear energy is presently based, was discovered. Thirteen years have not yet passed since the first installation was built in which nuclear energy was continuously released. It is only ten years since the atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima, four years since the first quantities of nuclear energy were converted into electric energy, and only half a year since the first ship — the submarine Nautilus — propelled by nuclear energy was launched. Nuclear physics is really a new branch of science which is just beginning to develop, so that we do not even know all the possibilities it offers.

Furthermore, another new and important thing is the great concentration of nuclear energy in uranium, thorium and hydrogen. This concentration is a great advantage over all other sources of energy man has so far been using. From a kilogram of coal we get, by combustion, up to 8,000 calories, while from a kilogram of uranium we can release, through nuclear fission, over 20 billion calories, which is three million times more. Accordingly, one gram of uranium, which is not bigger than a seed of maize, can replace three tons of coal. Here it must be remembered that during the process of nuclear fission only a thousandth part of the mass of uranium is converted into energy — which means that man, if he ever succeeds to convert the entire mass of uranium into energy, will be able to get a thousand times more calories from a unit weight of matter.

This considerable concentration of energy is, as we have said, a great advantage over all other sources of energy. It makes the blast of a relatively small nuclear, that is, atomic, bomb as powerful as the simultaneous blast of thousands of tons of the most powerful explosive known. For peacetime use, this concentration of energy offers great possibilities. Ships, airplanes and other means of transport will be able to run at much higher speeds and practically

for an unlimited time, since the storage and weight of fuel will no longer be a problem. Electric power generating plants will not longer be tied up with the sources of fuel, and man will be able to build them anywhere he likes, for a single aircraft load of fuel will be sufficient to keep them in operation for years.

The discovery of nuclear energy was made at the right time, because the present sources of energy will be exhausted in a relatively short time. We cannot, of course, say that hydro-energy will be exhausted, because it is constantly being replenished by solar radiation. But, the capacity of hydro-energy is limited. If all the available water power sources on the earth were to be exploited, hydro-energy would not satisfy even the present world needs. Coal and oil, the two chief sources of energy, are today being used to such an extent that they cannot last very long. If the consumption of energy were to remain at the present level, there would be no need to worry just yet. But, owing to the increases in population and the development of mechanization, the consumption of energy is increasing from day to day. According to many estimates, the shortage of coal and oil will become an urgent problem in a few decades, so that every new source of energy is of great benefit. Since the energy reserves of uranium and thorium alone are 25 times greater than those of coal and oil, nuclear energy will, regardless of other factors, replace all other sources in the future.

INFLUENCE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Because of all this, nuclear energy is receiving increasing attention. It is already playing an important role in international relations, as well as in the economies of many countries.

The extraordinary qualities of nuclear energy and the international situation in which work on nuclear research has been going on, have made nuclear fission an infamous discovery. For the first time in the history of science attempts were made to conceal from the rest of the world not only technical achievements, but also scientific facts about a new phenomenon. While in earlier times scientists made haste to publish their discoveries, not only to get credit, but also to enable their colleagues to use their results and go on expanding knowledge, in the Second World War, as well as afterwards, results of nuclear research remained locked in the desks of atomic commissions and made accessible to only a small number of scientists. Thus international cooperation was made impossible, and only a small number of people in some countries knew all the facts, so that progress in the field of nuclear research was considerably retarded.

The reasons for all this are well known, and they were justified only during the war. Nuclear energy had provided new means of destruction, and the possession of nuclear weapons has radically changed the balance of forces in the world.

However, the restrictions imposed on the publication of results achieved in nuclear research in the leading countries remained in force until recently, although the opposing blocs had reached the same level of development a long time ago. And, when today the United States, Great Britain and Canada, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other, keep their results to themselves, they do not keep them only from one another, but also from the rest of the world. The Great Powers can afford to keep evading cooperation in the field of nuclear research, for they have at their disposal the necessary funds and technicians to develop nuclear energy, either for peacetime or for military purposes.

But the small countries are in an entirely different position. Immediately after the war many small countries displayed a great deal of interest in nuclear energy, although they did not even imagine the possibilities of its peacetime application, and although they were aware that the production of nuclear weapons required enormous expenditures, both in research and in industrial processing. True, it was thought that nuclear science was still in its initial phase of development, and that a process for producing nuclear energy could be developed without so great expenditures. At any rate, it was considered worth while to invest something in the work on nuclear research, and to organize teams of technicians who would follow the developments in the world and, at a given time, start working on practical projects, if it proved possible and necessary. No one should lose sight of the other, more objective reasons which made small countries turn their attention to

nuclear research. The most important among these reasons were the lack of national sources of raw material (Holland), developed industries necessary in advancing nuclear research (the Swiss industry of heating machines), fuel supplies (Norwegian merchant marine), reserves of nuclear raw material, primarily uranium (Belgium) and so on. Finally, it must not be forgotten that many countries, starting work on nuclear research for peacetime use of nuclear energy, thought of its possible application in military industry, for many industrial advances can be used for either peacetime or military purposes.

At the beginning small countries, too, tried to keep their work on nuclear research secret. But they soon saw that it was not easy to achieve anything worth concealing, and that such a policy was detrimental to progress in that field.

It has been shown that successful work on the application of nuclear energy does not depend only on the mastering of nuclear fission processes, which are the basis of nuclear energy. It is necessary to solve many unusual technical problems before starting to build installations for the use of nuclear energy if they are to be economic and suitable for mass production and uninterrupted operation. For that, cooperation must be established between experts from many branches of science, such as chemistry, technology, thermodynamics, physics, engineering, metallurgy, electronics and others.

For work on nuclear energy it is necessary to possess highly developed conventional industries, capable of solving the problems encountered in making the equipment needed for nuclear research. What is more, successful work on nuclear energy makes it necessary to develop a new branch of industry which would produce materials which

Charles-Noël Martin writes

Paris, July 11, 1955

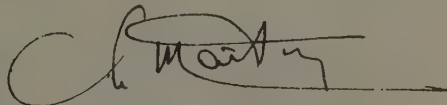
M. Rade Vlkov

Sir,

I am very sorry for the delay in sending you the article I have promised for the beginning of July. What I always fear when promising so urgent a work has happened: namely, I was very tired for a week or so, and it was only yesterday that I began to work again. Since November 15, when I submitted a report to the Academy of Science, I have been very busy answering questions which come from all parts of the world and ensuring the spreading of my scientific conclusions. I had to write my book: *"His Hour Come"* in only forty days. This book is now being translated in nine countries so that I am very much occupied by translation corrections, correspondence and conferences, and that is very tiring.

I informed you by telegram yesterday that I would, nonetheless, send you the article. But unfortunately I could not do so, because I was not able to finish the final corrections in the text, which I am doing today. This is a significant study in which I give precise conclusions. These conclusions have not been published anywhere yet. I do not know how you planned that number of your journal, but, however that may be, I will send you my work by air mail — express, and you can use it in accordance with your judgement and possibilities. I think that you will receive it by the 14th.

My respects,



★

We inform our readers that this issue was in press when we received M. Martin's work, which we shall publish in our next number. Ed.

have so far been produced in very small quantities or not at all.

Owing to all this, small countries were not in a position — as the big powers — to develop large scale nuclear research by themselves. As a result, they have been giving increasing support to the proposal for international cooperation in this field since 1950.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR RESEARCH

The first example of cooperation in the field of nuclear research (not reckoning the cooperation between the United States, Great Britain and Canada which dates back to the war years, but which cannot be said to be complete) was set by Norway and Holland. Norway had at its disposal sufficient quantities of heavy water, and Holland had all her pre-war reserves of uranium. They joined forces and built a reactor (uranium furnace), and an Institute for Nuclear Research. With the construction of this reactor they created the necessary conditions for further international cooperation, for which, as this example shows, it is necessary to have something to offer in return. Next, Norway began to cooperate with Sweden on separating plutonium from uranium exposed to radiation in the reactor. The Swedes had modern laboratories and excellent chemists, and the Norwegians the reactor in which uranium was treated. Another example of cooperation was given by Norway and Switzerland, in which the Swiss undertook to produce heating equipment for reactors. Good cooperation has also been established by France and India. In exchange for the results in nuclear research, the French received from the Indians quantities of thorium and barium, materials which are essential for the nuclear energy industry.

In giving these examples we have mentioned Norway many times. We have not done so accidentally. Norway is very active in international cooperation and in setting up international organizations for nuclear research. Norway was the first of the countries which had achieved good results in the field of nuclear research to initiate cooperation with another country (Holland), and to open the doors of its institutes to all nations. Scientists from a number of countries have been and are still working in the Norwegian Dutch Institute, and there is almost no country whose technicians have not visited that Institute.

The Norwegians soon learned that the policy of international cooperation was profitable. Owing to the visits of foreign scientists, work in the Norwegian-Dutch Institute progresses quicker, with better results, while in contact with representatives of other countries assistance was secured from many branches of industry and technology whose services are indispensable for successful work on nuclear research.

Norway's example has since been followed by many other countries. At an international conference which was called to consider the problems of reactors and heavy water in Oslo in 1953, a preparatory committee was formed, and an International Organization for Nuclear Energy, which includes many European countries, was set up in London in 1954.

In the meantime, the great atomic powers continued to maintain their isolation. The British were inclined to exchange information, particularly when Russia also appeared on the scene as an atomic power, but, in the interest of good relations with the United States, they had to keep aside. The stringent laws prevailing in the United States complicated and made difficult the publication of data whose withholding no longer served a useful purpose. The Russians, likewise, kept silent about their work and only revealed their final results: the explosion of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and the setting in operation of a nuclear power plant.

But in the meantime a new factor appeared which succeeded in eliminating or, at least, reducing in all countries the restrictions imposed on the publication of information pertaining to atomic energy. When it became clear that nuclear energy will, in one way or another, play an important part in economy, American industry began to demand that the so called classified information be made known to them, so as to be able to work more intensively in developing a nuclear industry. American industry, it is true, had played a considerable part in the development of nuclear energy projects from the very beginning, because the American Atomic Commission, in order to speed up the construction of the necessary installations, had entrusted important tasks to industrial companies. But even so, the

laws compelled the industrialists to carry out the orders of the Atomic Commission under its strict control.

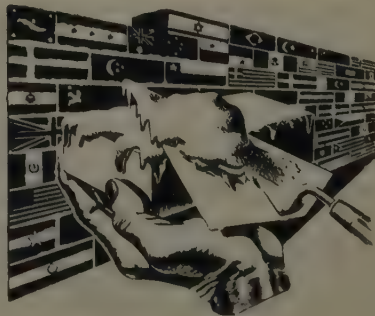
Under pressure from industry, the law restricting the publication of data concerning nuclear energy was amended, and industry secured greater freedom in this sphere of action. But as soon as it achieved that, it endeavoured to obstruct international cooperation and further publication of information. One can understand industry's endeavours not to reveal industrial secrets. But it seems that American industry also obstructs the publication of data which it received from the Atomic Commission. And that cannot but check the development of international cooperation in the field of nuclear energy.

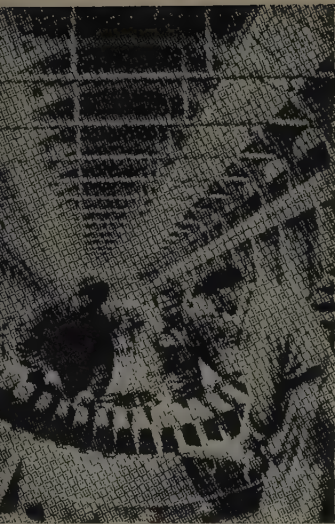
However, international cooperation in this field is being influenced by one more factor — world public opinion, which is displaying increasing interest in the achievements of nuclear science. The opinion that nuclear energy brings prosperity and leads to a new industrial revolution has taken deep — in some cases too deep — roots. Furthermore, attempts have been made also in the United Nations to establish cooperation in this field of activity. Consequently, the great powers found that their very prestige depends on their assistance to other countries in developing nuclear energy, and they are beginning to display some willingness to cooperate. However, none of them goes too far in that direction, but they all fear that the competing power or powers might do more than they do, and so gain an advantage in the propaganda field.

That is what explains the latest activities in offering assistance and in revealing information about the results achieved in the field of nuclear energy. We can also include among these activities Eisenhower's plan of "Atoms for Peace", under which foreign countries may receive assistance in nuclear material and send their technicians to the United States for training. The Soviet Union has also promised similar assistance to the East European countries. Finally, the Geneva conference on nuclear energy, which is being organized by the United Nations and is scheduled to meet in August this year, can also be included in these activities. Judging by the subject matter which the Eastern and Western countries will discuss at this conference, it may be taken that much of the withheld data will be revealed, although information from many fields which concern military uses of nuclear energy, will not even be touched.

It is noteworthy that concrete forms of cooperation, which many people had expected, will not be considered at the Geneva conference. The programme of the conference does not mention this at all. The great powers, it seems, do not dare accept any concrete obligations.

Small countries will, however, continue to strive for the realization of such cooperation. And the Organization for Nuclear Energy, which became inactive during this campaign of the United Nations, will be there to go on with international cooperation if this endeavour of the United Nations does not achieve desirable results. In spite of all the attempts of the big powers to keep to themselves, humanity will not be checked from progressing along its road. This has been shown by the earlier efforts of small countries which produced great results, and it will be shown also by the future development of this new branch of science and technology.





ACTIVE COEXISTENCE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Stane PAVLIČ

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IN the framework of general efforts towards the realization of active coexistence among nations, the development of international economic cooperation takes specific and, significant place. The efforts of states to discover and ensure in international relations those forms of economic cooperation which shall not only rest on the principles of equality, on respect for the integrity and independence of other States and non-interference in their internal affairs, but also provide for an unhindered economic development for every country, regardless of differences in social order — constitute one of the important elements of active coexistence.

The Joint Declaration which the Yugoslav Government and the Government of the USSR issued in June this year formulates this aspect of active coexistence as follows:

»The furtherance of mutual (bilateral) and international (multilateral) economic cooperation, and the removal of all those factors in economic relations which impede the exchange of goods and hamper the development of productive forces both in the world and within the national economies;

Assistance through the appropriate UN bodies as well in other forms, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations, both to the national economies and to the economically under-developed areas in the interests of the peoples of those areas and of the development of the world economy;

Condemnation of all aggression and of all attempts to subject other countries to political and economic domination. Such are the principles from which the two Governments start in the matter of economic cooperation.

I

International economic cooperation is an important component part of active coexistence, being a reflection of the needs and legality of the contemporary international economic and political situation. The division of labour, specialization of production, application of modern engineering on an ever larger scale, the increasing role of the markets — all this calls for an extension of the international economic cooperation and development of new forms of cooperation, such as the cooperation of enterprises, more cautious investments, integration of markets etc. Appropriate forms of economic cooperation would provide, precisely because of the existing structure of world economy, especially in Europe, a quicker development of the productive forces of the nations. The general trend of development of the productive forces, which tends to destroy national boundaries, is an objective factor of the strengthening of international economic cooperation. It is a fact that today the process of this cooperation is evolving under a definite bloc policy pressure, but in this process one should also look for elements which positively affect the development of international economic cooperation and which are not the result of bloc pressure. The relaxation of the world political tension should not weaken the tendency towards the develop-

ment of international economic relations; on the contrary, it should create more favourable conditions for the expansion of this cooperation. It is precisely in this respect that the seeking of ways and forms of cooperation between the Eastern and West-European countries, outside their bloc framework, constitutes a special and significant task.

The unity of world economy is constantly under the influence of extremely complex relations and forces, often different and contradictory tendencies, which are the result of economic and political international relations, as well as of concrete policies of individual countries. What is necessary is active struggle against the transfer of political considerations on to the economic plane, as they are likely to lead to a splitting the world market and dividing it into blocs.

To help all actions for the removal of obstacles standing in the way of world market relations is a condition for achieving full international economic cooperation on an equal basis.

The principle of unity and interlocking of world economy is opposed to all attempts at political isolation and autarchy which separates a country from world economy and which, in the long run, causes losses both to that country and to the world economy as a whole.

Although the present inter-state cooperation is still considerably burdened with old concepts, practice and forms of cooperation, most countries are increasingly becoming aware of the fact that bolder and more sincere steps should be taken in developing cooperation as this is in the interest of general progress. As the state is becoming an ever more important regulator of general economic life especially in defining the scope and direction of investments, then it (the »State«) constitutes the prime mover in the development of all forms of inter-state economic relations. But this does not mean that the State is the exclusive initiator and upholder of international economic activity, as there exist a series of other organizations which can substantially contribute to the development of international economic cooperation. In this regard a special role belongs to those factors which help the strengthening of the policy of coexistence.

It is understandable that the development of the idea and practice of international economic cooperation meets with serious obstacles and even lack of understanding. Speaking at the ninth regular session of the UN General Assembly, in October 1954, the permanent Yugoslav delegate said in this connection that »while the international political plane shows an easing of tension, the economic problems are becoming more acute. This calls for a need to devote much more attention and effort to the settlement of economic questions than in the period when strategic questions were given absolute priority. Successful settlement of economic problems and development of international economic cooperation would contribute to the elimination of the causes of future conflicts while strengthening the general international situation and consolidating peace in the world.«

Conscious of these facts and consistent in conducting her peaceful foreign policy, Yugoslavia desires to strengthen her economic relations with all countries which are willing to establish economic relations with her, based on the observance of the above mentioned principles.

Yugoslavia's economic cooperation with other countries evolves mostly along bilateral lines which are gradually becoming a check to the comprehensive development of our economic relations with foreign countries. Besides, Yugoslavia's foreign economic relations in the past were mostly limited to the sector of goods exchanges, while other domains and forms of economic cooperation were not adequately represented. But thanks to the strengthening of her economic forces and to the easing of world political tension, Yugoslavia has lately been implementing other forms of economic cooperation, with the exception of standard goods exchange, expanding her economic cooperation to other fields of economy also, above all between the newly-created Yugoslav industry and the industries of other countries. Yugoslavia is also playing an active role in various multilateral organizations.

Starting from these principles, Yugoslavia tends to widen the circle of countries with which she maintains economic relations. Today Yugoslavia is a party to agreements with nearly 40 countries, which means that she has concluded with these countries inter-state instruments regulating relations in various economic fields. But in concrete practice, Yugoslavia is developing goods exchange with a much larger number of countries. As regards the Yugoslav exports, this number rises to over 60 countries and over 50 in the field of exports. True, satisfactory results have not yet been reached in this regard. Although the number of countries has considerably grown, the bulk of the goods exchanges is restricted to a comparatively small number of countries. For example, last year's exports show that only 12 countries participated in the total Yugoslav exports in the proportion of 85.6%, while 12 countries participated in imports for as high a figure as 91.1%. These figures show that the economic development of the country, its economic possibilities and its economic interest constitute an important element in the development of international economic relations and to a great extent determine its direction and rate and even the limits of these trends.

A few years ago, wishing to provide maximum opportunities for the encouragement of economic interests, Yugoslavia abolished administrative issuing of export and import permits, as well as the payment authorizations. In this regard, Yugoslavia went further than most other countries, including the West-European, not to mention the East-European countries, although the West countries have to a great extent lifted quantitative restrictions for export and import. If the West European countries are willing to adopt in our case the same liberal treatment which they apply in their relations with the OEEC member-countries, there will be no obstacles in evolving goods exchanges between Yugoslavia and those countries. This is particularly valid for the industrial products sector. The situation is less satisfactory in regard to farm product exports, as most of the OEEC member-countries have not taken steps for the liberalization of these products which are most important for us. Whereas Western Europe, wishing to develop mass production and facilitate specialization in industry, rationalization of production etc., is taking measures for the liberalization of goods exchanges with simultaneous steps for multilateral payments, it is still applying different protective measures in the agricultural and food products sector.

In this connection we mention this year's session of the GATT, where the inconsistency of industrially developed countries on the question of a joint economic policy was particularly revealed. At this session, these countries again advocated the idea of a further liberalization of industrial products, with the simultaneous closing of their markets to farm products, exported mainly by the under-developed countries. The session noted this lack of principle of the industrially developed countries.

An objection has been made by some countries, our business partners, to the effect that although the Yugoslav foreign policy has dispensed with the system of export-import permits while Yugoslav import enterprises need no longer apply for payment authorizations — the existing system of import coefficients prevents the unhindered import of many items which are particularly interesting for those countries. This objection, however, is unfounded. First of all, the coefficient system is a completely undis-

criminating measure, as it refers only to kinds of goods and not to the importing countries, i. e. it does not distinguish between countries. The coefficients, a regulating factor in the price difference of a definite kind of article on the domestic or foreign market, also perform the function of customs duty in the absence of an elaborate customs tariff. The situation of Yugoslavia's payment balance requires the introduction of various import measures and the application of higher import coefficients than would be the case if the payment balance had not been affected by well-known circumstances such as three successive droughts, a six-year economic blockade, etc. Without entering into a detailed analysis of the Yugoslav payment balance, suffice it to state that indirect and direct imports for the use of Yugoslav national defence annually engages an average of 30% of all the funds created by Yugoslav exports. The defence of Yugoslavia's independence and the existence of a danger of aggression have made this sacrifice necessary.

The desire to raise Yugoslav economy from its backwardness in all these post-war years called, and still calls to a lesser extent, for substantial imports of equipment for the construction of new plants, as well as of material for maintenance. These equipment imports burdened the trade balance with 24.4% in 1952, 27.5% in 1953 and 20.3% in 1954. The repayment of debts, as well as the payment of compensation for nationalized property (the total compensation amount for nationalized property so far runs to 93.4 million dollars, of which over 50 million dollars was paid by the end of last year) engage the further 25% payment funds created abroad by Yugoslav exports. If it is considered that the three serious droughts suffered by the country did not only affect Yugoslav exports, but also required an extraordinary increase of food imports, — in the economic year 1954/55 it was necessary to import over 1,300,000 tons of wheat — then it will be seen how out of place are the reproaches made by certain countries regarding the regime of import coefficients. The improvement of the payment balance which is expected to follow the elimination of the factors which caused this difficult situation, will provide for the expansion of imports of industrial products and hence for a freer competition of the foreign market, as well as consumer goods imports, with the object of raising the general standard of living. But, of course, changes in the regime of import coefficients will always have to operate within the realistic framework of the payment balance.

In this connection we would like to refer again to the latest GATT session in March of this year, when revision of this agreement was discussed. Under Article 18 of the new draft agreement, the under-developed countries were granted a sort of «Under-developed countries' charter». This article lays down the most important principles of commercial policy of under-developed countries-members of the GATT. These principles recognize greater freedom to under-developed countries, so that the new GATT agreement, in contrast to the old one, differentiates between the developed and under-developed countries, admitting that the same rules cannot apply to both the developed and under-developed countries, but that both should enjoy equal treatment within the GATT.

This shows that the economies of under-developed or less developed countries are increasingly and ever more successfully establishing bonds with a view to weakening the monopoly of the industrially developed countries. A consistently conducted liberalization, would, in the end, cause even greater differentiation between the national economies, as countries with less developed productive forces would lag behind even more, while those developed ones would prosper more rapidly.

Starting from these principles, Yugoslavia desired and desires an expansion of economic relations with the West European countries with which she is linked by numerous inter-state agreements, such as regular commercial, payment, investment, credit agreements as well as those regulating transport, technical cooperation, tourism etc. The West-European countries substantially participate in Yugoslav goods exchanges. Thus Yugoslav exports to Western Europe reached during the last few years the amount of between 69 and 78% of the total exports. In total Yugoslav imports Western Europe participated in these years for 57–69%. This high percentage shows clearly enough the significance and interconnection of Yugoslav economy with the economies of West European countries. True, this percentage is to a certain extent misshapen, because of the completely severed economic relations between Yugoslavia and Eastern European countries during the last six years. But as special efforts were made to increase the total

volume of Yugoslav exports, there is a prospect that participation of West-European countries in Yugoslav exports, taken in an absolute figure, will not be reduced, despite normalization of trade relations with Eastern European countries. On the contrary, there is a wish and there exist realistic possibilities for an increase even of the volume of goods exchanges with Western Europe. All conditions exist for this. But it would be necessary for the West-European countries to develop other forms of economic cooperation in addition to the standard goods exchanges. The West European countries could also undertake certain actions in the goods exchange sector. These countries should take into consideration the great changes that have occurred or are impending in the structure of Yugoslav exports and imports. In this connection we would confine ourselves to a single index, which convincingly shows the changes which have taken place in the structure of Yugoslav goods exchanges. Whereas in 1939 the unprocessed products represented 55.4% of the Yugoslav exports, they represent only 37.6% in 1954. The products of ordinary processing represented 32.2% of the exports in 1939, last year that figure was 45.7% and reached 50% the year before last. The highly processed products represented only 5.4% of the exports in 1939; last year they accounted for 16.7%. The picture in Yugoslav imports is just the opposite. In 1939 the unprocessed products represented 19.8% of the Yugoslav imports owing to non-existence of industry; last year they accounted for 38.7%. Ordinary processed products amounted to 26.3% in 1939, 20.5% last year. Highly processed products represented 53.9% of the exports in 1939; they accounted for 40.8% last year. In the case of this last figure, consideration should be taken above all of the increased imports of equipment for the new industrial projects which are under construction in our country.

Even more interesting is the index for the first four months of this year when exports, valued at 21.1 billion dinars, included industrial products representing 13.4 billion dinars, that is 63.5%. Here of course we should take into consideration last year's drought which reduced the participation of farm and food articles. But the fact that the volume of the total exports during these four months is almost the same as in the same period last year, shows that industrial products have succeeded, to a considerable extent, to make up for the agricultural and food products in our exports.

A concrete example of the tendencies of Yugoslav economy to develop all-round economic relations with the West European countries is provided by the Yugoslav talks with France, during which agreement was reached on principle that both countries should start immediate negotiations with a view to substantially raise goods exchanges between Yugoslavia and France as well as between Yugoslavia and the French Union. Although France has liberalized exchanges in mutual relations, she has not done so in regard to agricultural and food articles (France liberalized her imports in the proportion of 64.6% only, Italy 99.7%, Holland 92.5%, Sweden 91.2%, Switzerland 91.6%, Western Germany 90.1%, Belgium 87.7%, England 82.9%, Austria 82.4% etc — according to the position on 1st January 1955) — which are of special significance for our exports. We can nonetheless expect that with flexible contingents of agricultural and food products and even other articles which have not yet been embraced by liberalization, an important expansion of goods exchanges will take place in both directions. The setting up of a joint committee of experts for the purpose of drawing up concrete programmes of industrial and technical cooperation, is a novelty in mutual relations and means the beginning of more lasting, more comprehensive cooperation. The willingness of France to advance a special additional working credit amounting to 5 million dollars for financing Yugoslav purchases for the rationalization and reconstruction of production, for the realization of technical cooperation, for securing patents and licences as well as for the joint appearance on the markets of third countries, also constitutes a new form of this cooperation.

Without going into details, something of the kind might also be said about the development of economic relations with neighbouring Italy. After the settlement of the Trieste issue, a series of agreements have been signed in December last and in the spring of this year, for the regulation of various fields of economic cooperation, such as regular trade agreement, payment agreement, convention on trade and navigation, agreement on local exchanges with Trieste and Gorizia, agreement on air transport, road transport, agreement for the liquidation of all mutual claims, including reparations and compensation for nationalized



A Furnace (650 tons) in Zenica

property, regulation of the question of optionists' property etc. Negotiations are now under way for the regulation of the very delicate and important question in our mutual relations — the agreement on Adriatic fisheries. Yugoslavia is ready to make a definite sacrifice for the regulation of this matter in order to make a contribution for the further improvement and development of good neighbour relations with Italy. Talks have also been going on for some time on the conclusion of a separate agreement which will provide for larger Yugoslav purchases of investment equipment on the Italian market, as well as negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement on technical cooperation. The former tension which existed between the two countries, prevented Yugoslavia from concluding these two agreements although she had done so previously with most West-European countries. The conclusion of these agreements will fill the gap which has existed so far in Italo-Yugoslav economic relations.

The development of the economic cooperation between Yugoslavia on the one hand and Greece and Turkey on the other, is a faithful reflection of the friendship between the three countries in the framework of the Balkan Alliance. The goods exchanges with Greece have been doubled during the last few years as compared with the situation before the war, while they have almost been trebled with Turkey. In other sectors of economy such as investment building, transport, tourism, cooperation is increasingly expanding.

A special form of Yugoslavia's firm economic relations with West-European countries and with the United States are the loans and credits which Yugoslavia obtained from those countries in the post-war period, mainly with a view to purchasing investment equipment. The long-term loans amounting to 111.8 million dollars and medium-term credits to an amount of 168.3 million dollars — according to the situation on 31st December 1954 — constitute a firm interlinking of the Yugoslav economy with the economies of these countries, precisely because these countries, by delivering industrial equipment, create a solid basis for future lasting cooperation.

A special form of Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries is the economic assistance which Yugoslavia is receiving, mainly in the form of the so-called tripartite economic assistance from the Governments of the United States, Great Britain and France, and also directly from the United States Government. The receiving of economic assistance is based on the instruments of the 1951 London Conference, the Bled memorandum of July 1951 and the Agreement on economic cooperation concluded with the United States. These instruments definitely laid down the aims of assistance. Assistance is being given with the object of establishing closer economic relations between Yugoslavia and the above mentioned countries, with the object of developing natural resources and potential forces, with the object of advancing economic development generally, as well as for the purpose of strengthening Yugoslavia's independence. From 1951 till the economic year 1953/54 inclusive Yugoslavia received a total of 474 million

dollars as economic assistance. In the course of the economic year 1954/55 Yugoslavia received under the tripartite assistance 121,1 million dollars from the United States, 5,6 million from Great Britain and 3,7 million dollars from France, that is, a total of 130,4 million dollars. As part of assistance for the economic year 1954/55 Yugoslavia received 1,130 thousand tons of wheat.

An the basis of the above mentioned principles, Yugoslavia accepted the proposal for normalizing, among others, its economic relations with the Eastern European countries. After the first compensation negotiations, concluded in the second half of last year, the beginning of this year saw the signing of inter-state trade agreements with all Eastern European countries, with the exception of the German Democratic Republic. The characteristics of these agreements are standard, almost identical with those concluded with a number of West-European countries, taking into consideration the specific characteristics of the foreign-trade regime of the Eastern European countries. When discussing the conclusion of these agreements, it would be wrong to see only their economic side — the volume of exchange amounts to nearly 90 million dollars and it ensures many important products needed by Yugoslav economy — but it is more important to note that they put an end to an abnormal state of affairs, harmful not only from Yugoslavia's viewpoint, but also from the viewpoint of international relations generally. In keeping with the principles expressed in the Joint Declaration issued by the Yugoslav Government and the Government of the USSR in June of this year, it would be necessary to reach an agreed solution also for the damage caused directly or indirectly to Yugoslavia by the economic blockade.

In the development of economic relations with the Near East, Middle East and Far East countries, as well as with the South American and Central American countries, considerable results have already been achieved, although they lag behind the results achieved on the political plane. Characteristic for Yugoslavia's economic relations with these countries is the Joint Declaration of the President of Yugoslavia and the President of the Burmese Union, as well as the Protocol on economic cooperation, recently concluded between Yugoslavia and the Burmese Union, which emphasize the need for the development of mutual economic relations in keeping with the policy of firm friendship, and with a view to contributing to the economic development of the two countries. With this end in view, Yugoslavia agreed to conclude a five-year agreement for the purchase of considerable quantities of rice, as this article constitutes more than 90% of total Burmese exports. Agreement has been reached to conclude other agreements as well, which will provide for investments and technical cooperation. A special example of economic cooperation are Yugoslavia's relations with friendly Ethiopia, where the extending of technical assistance is particularly noticeable.

In contrast to the above mentioned aspects showing a firm tendency for further development of economic relations between Yugoslavia and all other countries, this is not the case with Western Germany. The incomprehensible delay shown by Western Germany in the settlement of Yugoslav claims, could not but be reflected on economic relations. The fact that ten years have passed since the end of the war, that concrete talks have been going on for nearly two years and that three years have passed since the signing of the London agreement which bound Western Germany to settle this question with all the interested countries, as well as the fact that West Germany's economy is in a very favourable situation thanks to the special factors which essentially contributed to this state of affairs — not only hinders the development of the relations between Yugoslavia and Western Germany, but turns this question into a matter of a principle. The well-known formulations of the London agreement of February 1952, extremely favourable for Western Germany, reduced the Yugoslav claims to a minimum. It is well-known that Yugoslavia claims over 600 million DM, for social insurance, 343 million DM for claims of various institutions in the former Independent Croat State and the Serbian National Bank, 2,196 million RM for war clearing accounts. Furthermore, there are various claims arising from unpaid salaries and wages to former prisoners of war, from unrestituted copper, from pre-war clearing accounts, from post office and railways accounts etc. The fact that under these headings Yugoslavia claims, considerable amounts, basing her demand on the London agreement, which she is unable to carry out ten years after the war, and that Yugoslavia

at the same time must repay to Western Germany post-war credits received under unfavourable financial conditions, and that the total amount of these debts is certainly far smaller than the Yugoslav claims from Western Germany, shows the difficulty of this problem. The thought formulated in an article, published in the »Ekonomika Politika« of June 23 this year, — »It seems to us that, by refusing to meet its obligations, Western Germany is creating a very dangerous precedent in international relations. This precedent is all the more dangerous that its full obligations are not involved, but obligations which have been reduced to a minimum and which do not constitute any burden for its present economy. At the same time they constitute only a small part of the compensation for the damage caused. The meeting of these obligations is a prerequisite for further normal economic and commercial relations between the two countries« — should not remain unheard, not only in the interests of mutual relations, but also in the interests of the strengthening of confidence in the sphere of international relations generally.

III

Yugoslavia has always and especially during the last few years developed a wide constructive activity, within the international organizations. The easing of tension on the international plane has created and is creating ever new possibilities for the successful settlement of various problems in the framework of world organizations.

First of all, Yugoslavia has participated in the work of the UNO, in all the specialized agencies, commissions and committees which dealt with various questions pertaining to economic cooperation. Yugoslavia devoted special attention, within the UNO, to the problem of the development of under-developed countries, which is becoming the central international economic problem. In the removal of economic backwardness of under-developed countries and less developed countries lay potential possibilities for developing international economic cooperation and finding new forms of such cooperation. The under-developed as well as the insufficiently developed countries, that is, those with a comparatively low rate of accumulation, are compelled to seek foreign loans and invite investments.

An interesting statement was made in this respect by the UN special plenipotentiary for the question of under-developed countries Mr. Raymond Sheyven: »Economic solidarity is increasingly becoming an essential element of policy. The prosperity of one group is more and more dependent on the prosperity of the other. The poverty of one group hinders the progress of the other«.

Also characteristic is a statement made by Mr. Black, President of the International Bank: »I think the time has come when industrial countries, in their own interest, must grapple with the fundamental elements of the problem of the under-developed countries«.

General tendencies in world economy are evolving towards an aggravation of the relative situation of the under-developed countries. The specialized agencies of the UNO and the UN technical assistance are unable to solve this question. The same applies to the International Bank, although it contributes to the financing of some projects for the benefit of under-developed countries. There is a need for large additional funds from international sources. In the sphere of economic development the need arises for the construction of a series of projects, not commercially profitable, but nonetheless vital for the economic development of individual countries. The international banks are not prepared to finance such projects. Therefore it would be necessary to create a special UN fund for the economic development of backward countries.

The Economic and Social Council recently opened its regular session in Geneva. This time again the Yugoslav delegation is taking part in the solution of all the more important problems on the agenda, such as the question of the special UNO Fund, international financial corporation, international private financing generally, international trade etc.

Yugoslavia is actively cooperating with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as well as with the International Monetary Fund.

The appearance of the Yugoslav delegation at the regular sessions of the European Economic Commission has always been the focus of attention. At this year's tenth session of that Commission, in March of this year, the Yugoslav delegation criticized the bloc policy, stressing the harmful consequences of such policy from the viewpoint

of the economic development of European countries. The division of the world into blocs is contrary to the needs of the national economies, and results in an irrational allocation of investments, the irrational interlocking of national economies, the slowing down of the economic development of under-developed countries. That session devoted a special attention to the work of the Agricultural Committee and of the Committee on problems of electric energy. The latter committee favourably appraised the study on »Yuglexport« and stressed its European significance, as integration of electric energy sources from a number of European countries will help the efforts for increasing European cooperation. The Committee for Trade discussed the problem of East-West trade, the transferability of clearing balances and the possibilities for concluding bilateral long-term agreements.

Yugoslavia's participation in the special expert group for Southern Europe is particularly significant. At this year's session the delegations of South European countries — Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece and Turkey — appeared unitedly, emphasizing the need for the urgent settlement of problems affecting this area. The Western countries admitted the importance of these matters and promised their support.

Yugoslavia's cooperation with the Organization of European economic cooperation — OEECE — is becoming active. Yugoslavia is prepared to take part in the work of all vertical and horizontal committees and other organizational forms of the OEECE through her permanent official representative. This cooperation had to be established, above all, on account of the special significance attached to the economy of the Western countries — members of OEECE for our economy. The OEECE tends to become the coordinator of the financial and commercial policy of West European countries, and gradually to develop its activity

towards coordination and investment policy. The OEECE has lately been devoting its attention to the development of South European countries.

The fact that Yugoslavia has only bilateral payment agreements with West European countries and that there is no possibility for transferring active balances from the clearing accounts of one country to another, is a serious obstacle in the way of the rational use of Yugoslav exports and imports. It is absolutely necessary to find forms which would provide for the transferability of active Yugoslav clearing amounts, at least up to a certain percentage. The endeavours to realize a gradual convertibility of some West European currencies, as well as discussions on the creation of a European Fund, after the abolition of the European Payment Union, is of special significance for Yugoslav economy.

For the same reasons Yugoslavia joined the European Conference of Transport Ministers. Yugoslavia has been taking part in the work of GATT — the General agreement on customs duty in trade — although she is not a member of that organization. At this year's session, Yugoslavia for the first time officially expounded her views in a discussion on the revision of the agreement. On this occasion, when the statute of the »Organization for international commercial cooperation« was brought up for adoption, the wish was expressed that this organization should become a permanent and that it should be gradually turned into a »specialized UNO agency«.

The use of nuclear energy for peace-time purposes constitutes a special form of international cooperation. Yugoslavia is actively contributing, both with her own research work in this field, and with her participation in all the international conferences — to the creation of conditions conducive to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful ends.

INVESTMENTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

Radoslav NIKETIĆ

THE economic and industrial backwardness, the under-developed state of the raw material and electric power basis and of other economic potentialities of the country, the low level of productive forces in pre-war Yugoslavia — all these are the result, inter alia, of the inadequate or insignificant capital investment in economy.

In contrast, the post-war building of Yugoslavia, especially from 1947 till 1954, is characterized by abundant capital investments. These investments were aimed at liquidating economic and industrial backwardness, at providing for a rational use of all the economic potentialities and natural resources of the country (the raw material and power basis) and consequently raising the productive forces to a higher level.

Capital investment in the 1947—1953 period

Although the social investments in the period 1947—1953 amounted to about 1,855 million dinars (all expressed in terms of the 1952 price level), or at an average about 260 million dinars annually, they were not enough to ensure the fulfilling of the tasks thus set.

It is characteristic that the greatest part of the necessary means for the realization of the big programme of social capital investment in our country had to be covered from our own sources, from the surplus of labour — accumulation; taking these means from the comparatively low national income. It should be added that foreign means secured in the form of loans or assistance, which were used for investments during in the above mentioned period were relatively small. The contribution of these means to the total amount of the social capital investment hardly reaches the figure of 2—3%, calculating the foreign loans and assistance at the official rate of exchange.

The structure of the social capital investment in this period was primarily oriented toward building and more important investments in the sphere of industry, especially for the construction of power sources and for basic industry.

The strong concentration of capital investment was directed towards the so-called »key projects«. The participation of investments in industry in relation to the general investments will be seen from the following table:

Total investments		Investments in industry		Percentage from total investments	
Year	Amount	Index	Amount	Index	
1947	164	100	60	100	36%
1948	239	146	83	148	35%
1949	319	194	126	210	40%
1950	261	160	128	214	49%
1951	259	152	135	225	52%
1952	273	166	178	292	64%
1953	340	207	192	320	56%

It follows from the foregoing that the participation in the total social investments rose from 36% in 1947 to 49% in 1950, and that in 1952 it reached its highest level with 64% of all the social investments, with a tendency to fall, as a result of the completion of a wide front of investments in the field of industry.

The capital investments and expenditures for national defence have considerably burdened our gross product, so that in the above mentioned period Yugoslavia belonged to those countries which spend the greatest part of their gross product for capital investment and for the army, as will be seen from the following table:

Percentage of participation in gross product				
	Year	Investment	Army	Total
Western Germany	1952	20,0	—	20,0
Great Britain	1952	13,0	11,0	23,0
Italy	1952	21,0	4,6	25,6
Denmark	1952	23,0	2,9	25,9
France	1952	17,0	10,5	27,5
USA	1952	17,0	13,8	30,8
Norway	1952	30,0	4,7	34,7
Yugoslavia	1953	29,0	18,5	48,5

Thanks to the relaxation of the tension in international relations, capital investments and military expenditures were somewhat reduced in 1954 (to 45,5%), but this must still be considered a heavy burden.

If parallel with these social investments and participation of the investments and the army in the gross products, we examine the national income per capita in the above mentioned and some other countries, we shall see that — despite considerable efforts — Yugoslavia still ranks among the insufficiently developed and backward countries together with some countries of Eastern and Southern Europe and certain countries of South America the Near East and similar areas, as will be seen from the following survey:

National income per capita in 1949

First group of countries with a national income up to 100 US dollars:

Indonesia	25	Burma	36
China	27	India	57

Second Group of countries with a national income of 100—200 US dollars:

Egypt	100	Mexico	121
Syria	100	Turkey	125
Brazil	112	Greece	128
Yugoslavia	146	and about 200 in 1946	

Third Group of countries with a national income of 200—400 US dollars:

Austria	216	USSR	308
Italy	235	Western Germany	320
Hungary	269	Finland	348
Poland	300	Czechoslovakia	371

Fourth and Fifth Group of countries with an income from 400—900 US dollars and over:

France	482	Denmark	689
The Netherlands	502	Great Britain	773
Belgium	582	Sweden	780
Norway	678	USA	1,453

(Sources: UN National and Per Capita Incomes, Seventy Countries — 1949, New York 1950)

A comparatively small national income and a great participation of capital investments and military expenditures in the gross product of our country have exacted and are still exacting — in this period — considerable efforts from our whole economy.

All these social capital investments and efforts made in the development of our economy have created possibilities for raising the general level of industrial production in relation to the pre-war situation. In 1954 the index of the physical scope of industrial production was 208, with a basis of 100 in 1939.

Capital investments in 1954

In view of the considerable increase of the social and total production, and in view of the upward trend of the market prices in 1954 as compared to 1953, a much greater inflow of these investment means was realized, amounting to about 28%. Such an increase has influenced the social gross investments in 1954, as compared to 1953, so the latter rose further by about 15%.

Did this greater expenditure of means in the realization of the total social gross investments mean at the same time an increase in the physical scope of investments? Unfortunately, despite an increased rate of production of building materials equipment and other products, this greater influx of financial means in 1954 led to an increase in prices, so that the physical volume of investments is not on the direct rise parallel with the increased use of funds. Giving a general estimation, we can say that the physical volume of investments is at an insubstantially higher level than the physical volume of investments in 1953.

The structure of the gross and net social investments in 1953 and 1954 gives the following picture according to economic fields:

	Structure of investments in 1953		Structure of investments in 1954	
	Gross invest.	Net invest.	Gross invest.	Net invest.
1. Industry and mining	56,6	60,5	49,1	52,0
2. Agriculture	4,9	5,9	5,0	5,5
3. Forestry	1,0	0,8	0,5	0,3

4. Building	4,4	4,4	4,9	5,1
5. Transport	17,8	11,4	17,9	10,0
6. Trade and Hotel ind.	4,2	4,2	3,8	4,0
7. Crafts	0,6	0,4	0,8	0,4
Total capital building (A)	89,5	87,0	82,0	77,3
8. Housing and acommunal activity	6,0	7,6	9,5	12,0
9. Cultural and social activity	2,3	2,5	4,4	5,7
10. Activity of state organs etc.	2,2	2,9	4,1	5,0
Total social standard (B)	10,5	15,5	18,0	22,7
Total (A and B)	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The structure of investments in 1954 in comparison with 1953 has altered in favour of investments conducive to the raising of the standard of living (social). The participation of the social standard construction in the gross and net investments in 1953 amounted to 10,5%, and 13,0% respectively while the participation in 1954 amounts to 18,0% and 22,7% respectively. This increase in investments is a reflection not only of an increased expenditure of funds, but also of a greater physical volume of investments in the social standard.

The completion of the projects of the basic investment construction greatly influenced the change in the structure of the net social investments. The net capital investments in industry and mining in the total net social investments are as follows:

	Total net social investments	Net social investments in industry and mining	Percentage of net social investments in industry and mining in total net social investments
1953	266	162	60,5
1954	306	158	52,0

In the net investments of the basic capital construction, with the completion of projects in industry and mining, considerable funds are freed for being channelled in agriculture, forestry, transport, building and other fields of economy.

New industrial plants in 1954

As an obvious result of the capital investment in previous years and in 1954, the year 1954 saw the putting in trial operation or regular working of the following plants:

In the field of electric power, the following have been put in regular operation: a thermal power station at Konjščina, of 14 MW; a Water power station (Vrta II) of 10,5 MW; a Water power station (Ovčar Banja) of 2,3 MW; a Water power station (Vuzenica) of 16 MW; a Water power station (Jajce) of 20 MW; a Water power station (Una) of 6 MW; while the Water power stations of Medvode and Jablanica have been put in trial operation with aggregates I and II. Also set in regular operation are a Paraffin factory (Bosanski Brod) with an annual capacity of 960 tons of paraffin; a Bitumen blowing works with a capacity of 18,000 tons of bitumen and Vacuum Pipe—Still with a capacity of 60,000 tons of crude oil; in the Sisak refinery a Reforming Pipe—Still has been put in operation with an annual capacity of 60,000 tons of crude oil.

In ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy the following plants have been put in operation. In Zenica iron works — the first and second battery of the coke plant with a capacity of 225,000 tons of coke annually; blast furnace №1 with an annual capacity of 200,000 tons of pig iron; a light rolling mill with an annual output of 70,000 tons of rolled products; in the Sisak iron works — seamless pipe rolling works with an annual capacity of 60,000 tons; in the Smederevo iron works — a tinplate rolling mill with an annual capacity of 5,000 tons; in the Ravne iron works — an electric furnace with an annual capacity of 10,000 tons of electro-steel and in the Store iron works — an electro-furnace with an annual output of 2,000 tons of pig iron; lastly the aluminum oxide factory and aluminum electrolysis at Kidričevo and the copper and copper alloys rolling mill at Sevojno.

The following plants have been put in operation in the non-metal industry: the Ceramica factory Pojatno, with

an annual output of 5,000 tons of ceramic products; the cement factory „10 Kolovoz“, with an annual output increased by 50,000 tons of cement; the „Prvoborac“ cement factory, with an annual output of 60,000 tons of cement; the Pula cement factory, with an increased capacity of 0,000 tons of portland cement annually; while the Stragari asbestos separation plant has been put in trial operation or 6,000 tons of asbestos fibers a year.

In the remaining branches of industrial activity the following plants have been set in operation during 1954: the Svetozarevo cable factory, the „Zorka“ works, Šabac, with an annual output of 60,000 tons of superphosphates, the factory of azote compounds at Gorazde with an annual output of 27,000 tons of azote compounds and the Starch factory at Zrenjanin with an annual capacity of 30,000 tons of starch.

In addition to the above mentioned plants of the basic investment construction in the field of industry many other plants have been completed and set in operation, or will be operating in 1955, in other spheres of our economy.

Besides, considerable progress has been made in housing, as well as in the construction of communal and cultural buildings during the year 1954.

Capital Investment in the first months of 1955

The influx and expenditure of investment funds for the period January—April 1955 in relation to the same period last year shows the following state of affairs (in million dinars).

	Period Jan.—April 1954		Period Jan.—April 1955		Structure of expenditure Jan. April
	Income	Expend.	Income	Expend.	
Gross Investments	75,652	53,784	93,126	86,557	100 100
Amortization	40,791,	18,553	39,522	33,667	35,0 40,0
Net investments	34,861	35,231	53,604	52,890	65,0 60,0

It appears from the above data that both inflow and expenditure of investment means in the period January—April 1955 was on the rise in relation to the same period last year, viz: income by 22.2% and expenditure by 61.0%.

The increased influx of investment funds is a reflection of the further increase of the general and social production, while the increased expenditure of investment means comes as a result of much more favourable weather conditions which, owing to a mild winter, provide possibilities for a quicker development of building activities. Moreover, the more rapid expenditure of investment funds was influenced by a somewhat better functioning of the system of crediting and by the possibility for the automatic use of unexpended instalments of investment credits from last year.

The structure of expenditures of gross investment funds in the first months of this year in relation to last year shows considerable changes:

	Jan.—April 1954	Jan.—April 1955
Industry and mining	51,8	45,8
Agriculture	1,9	5,2
Forestry	0,4	1,7
Transport	20,0	21,4
Other economic branches	12,3	11,4
General standard construction	13,6	14,5
Total	100,0	100,0

These data clearly show that the structure of capital investment has altered in the sense of a reduction of investments in industry and mining, while agriculture, forestry, construction of social standard projects and to a certain extent transport are showing an upward trend, which means that there already exist all the conditions for proper development of the general investment programme laid down in the Federal Social Plan for 1955.

Survey of plants in industry and mining which have been put in operation in the first months of 1955

In electro-economy the following plants have been put in operation: a Water power station Jablanica (48 MW)

and a Water power station Glava Zete (5 MW). The month of May saw the setting in trial operation of the following plants: Water power station Međuvrše I aggregate of 2.3 MW and Water power station Moste Aggregate III with a capacity of 5 MW.

The production and processing of oil in the „Metan“ enterprise Kutina, saw in May the beginning of the trial operation of the gas-works with a capacity of 2,500 tons annually (the trial period will last 2 months) while in the „Nafta“ — Lendava enterprise steps have been taken for the successive putting in operation of the degassing equipment and capturing of crude gas.

In ferrous metallurgy (Sisak iron works) the Bešlinac iron ore mine with an annual capacity of 20,000 tons has been set in operation while the gray cast foundry with a capacity of 2,500 tons annually was set in operation in January and a steel foundry with an annual capacity of 2,200 tons, in February.

The Zenica iron works saw the setting in operation of the second sloping furnace with a capacity of 100,000 tons of steel, an electro-furnace with a capacity of 10 tons (ten-ton furnace), and the third coke plant battery was set in operation in June (production in two months).

The Vareš mine gradually increases its output of iron ore according to a planned extension of the mine.

In non-ferrous metallurgy, in the light metals factory „Boris Kidrič“, Šibenik, the rolling mill (with a final capacity of 16,000 tons of aluminium products) has been partly set in trial operation.

The „Jugohrom“ chemical industry, Skoplje, saw the trial setting in operation of a new plant for the production of chromium salts with an annual capacity of 5,000 tons, while enlarged installations for the production of 47,000 tons of calcinated soda and installations for the production of 23,000 tons of caustic soda have been put in operation in the soda factory at Lukavac.

In the paper industry, in the Cellulose and Paper Mill at Videm the enlarged section of the plant for the production of cellulose has been put in operation with a capacity of 4,500 tons of sulphide cellulose (trial operation) while in the Cellulose factory at Prijedor the enlarged part of the plant for the production of bleached cellulose with an annual capacity of 13,000 tons has been set going so that its present annual capacity amounts to 34,000 tons.

The textile industry in the woollen goods factory in Tetovo has put in trial operation a plant with an annual capacity of 3 million square metres of woollen goods. Normal output will start at the beginning of the fourth quarter of 1955.

Industrial production

Extensive capital investment in economy, especially in the sphere of industry and mining has influenced the increase of industrial production.

In the period the dynamic rise of the industrial and mining output underwent three phases:

In the first phase, in the period 1946—1950, industrial production rose at a rapid rate and this mainly because of a better use of existing plants, and partially at the expense of new plants which had either been reconstructed or were already operating at that time, although for the most part they had not been fully completed.

The second phase, from 1950 till 1952, saw a temporary stagnation in industrial production, although basic industry had considerably increased in that period. The reduction of industrial production in that period was affected by two years of drought which altered the structure of imports and greatly cut raw material imports for industry.

The third phase, from 1953 to the present day, is showing a steady, upward trend thanks to the setting in operation of new plants despite the drought and balance of payment difficulties.

The index of the physical volume of the rise of the total industrial and mining output in the first quarter of 1955 in relation to 1939 is 236; while indexes of the physical volume of various categories of production in the same period are on the rise as follows: production means by 850; materials for processing by 226, and consumer goods by 209.

Indexes of the physical volume of industrial and mining production in the mentioned periods, according to the branches of activity on the basis 1939 = 100, will be seen from the following table:

	Period Jan.— March						
	1946	1947	1950	1952	1953	1954	1955
Production of Electro-energy	98	124	205	230	254	293	383
Production and processing of coal	83	115	153	144	139	163	189
Production and processing of oil	58	88	377	422	548	647	778
Ferrous Metallurgy	78	123	151	176	207	235	350
Non-ferrous metallurgy	67	91	130	145	148	155	185
Production and processing of non-metals	81	127	159	173	195	217	223
Metal industry	91	153	267	264	335	367	434
Electro-industry	145	222	576	802	1060	1241	1510
Chemical industry	69	120	160	164	177	220	311
Industry of building materials	83	133	192	177	208	214	129
Timber industry	67	106	177	123	131	135	149

Production and processing of paper	92	118	144	140	158	170	207
Textile industry	80	124	152	120	117	143	178
Leather and footwear industries	80	132	192	128	117	134	149
Rubber industry	62	139	185	167	166	197	206
Food industry	85	131	131	114	152	165	151
Tobacco industry	63	111	147	126	110	157	152

(Source: „Index“ № 6/55)

There is no doubt that the results of the post-war capital investments are already visible, especially in the sphere of industrial and mining production, with considerable withdrawals and detected disproportions in the remaining spheres of economic activity. The rapid rate of industrial production in the past cannot be followed by agriculture and transport for the development of which capital investment has been planned already this year.

Although our economy has not yet liquidated all the backwardness inherited from the past, it has already achieved a higher level of productive forces; it is now sufficiently strong to be able to continue its independent development and to be an equal partner, with its economic and industrial development, with all the countries in the world on the principle of coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

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THE STATE OF SOCIALISM IN BRITAIN

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The Conservatives won the British General Election mainly for two reasons. The first and most important reason was that there was no clear issue between the parties. The excessively moderate programme on which the Labour Party chose to fight offered no major challenge to the Conservative Government and failed to arouse any enthusiasm among the Labour rank and file. Secondly, there was no great feeling of dissatisfaction with things as they are — or at any rate none that extended to the marginal voters on whom, in the present closely balanced state of parties, success and failure depend. Great Britain has been enjoying a period of prosperity under Conservative rule; and although this prosperity was due to the course of world affairs and not to the Conservatives, the Government reaped the benefit of it. The proportion of electors who went to the poll was substantially smaller than in previous post-war elections; and this undoubtedly favoured the Conservatives, particularly because on this occasion their organisation for getting voters to the poll was better than the Labour Party's. Another factor making in favour of the Conservatives was the extensive re-distribution of constituencies that has taken place since the last election was held in 1951. It is generally recognised that under the British system of voting for single-member constituencies the Labour Party fares worse in seats than in votes, because many of its votes are wasted in huge majorities in industrial areas. The recent re-distribution, far from improving the position in this respect, made it rather worse.

This, however, was, I think, only a minor factor in the Labour Party's defeat. The fundamental cause was the lack of a good programme — a lack which had reacted seriously on the efficiency of the party's election machine. Many of the party's leaders attribute the falling off to the disputes between the existing leadership and the Bevanites and put the blame on Aneurin Bevan for »splitting« the party and thus reducing the strength of its appeal. I do not at all agree with this view. I do not doubt that the differences within the Labour Party did weaken it in the election; but I think a more courageous programme, such as the Bevanites wanted, would have aroused the enthusiasm that was so plainly lacking, and therefore hold that the major blame should be laid on the leadership for its refusal to adopt such a programme. Indeed, the main blame in this respect rests on the leaders of the Trade Union movement, who are in a thoroughly bad and reactionary mood and appear to be much more concerned with fighting against every sort of militancy than with sustaining their own members' interests. This, of course, is not true of all the Trade Unions: but it is true of the group of leaders who at present dominate the Trades Union Congress.

The main difference between 1945 and 1955 is that the Labour Party has lost a large proportion of the support it received ten years ago from the stratum of electors lying between the industrial proletariat and the middle classes, and has lost therewith a number of urban seats, whose electors belong largely to this group. Many of these electors voted in 1945 for the Labour Party because they wanted improved and expanded social services and a continuance of wartime controls in order to prevent a sharp rise in prices. Since then, they have got what they wanted in respect of social services and are less desirous of a further expansion of them than they are fearful of higher taxation in paying for them. Moreover, they dislike »controls«, which have now for the most part been swept away, and are less scared of rising prices than of Socialist encroachments on their personal liberties or of a narrowing of their economic and social superiority over »ordinary workers«. The Conservatives have been very careful not to suggest any undermining of the existing provisions for social security, and have indeed been able to compete with the Labour Party in this field. There are fairly narrow limits to what the Labour Party can afford to promise in the way of economic

improvements as long as it refrains from advocating any immediate change in the economic system, as it did in its programme this year.

The truth is that, if major structural changes are ruled out for the time being, neither party can offer much in the way of improved economic conditions for the main body of the people. This gives a large advantage to the Conservatives, because there is much to be said for the view that they can make a better job of running a system of which they approve than the Labour Party can of running one which it dislikes but dare not attack.

The reason why the Conservatives have been able, during their four years of office, to add largely to the profits of the owners of private business without provoking a working-class revolt is largely that they have been remarkably fortunate. When they took office in 1951 the »terms of trade« were exceptionally unfavourable to Great Britain. The very sharp rise in the prices of materials that followed the outbreak of the Korean crisis meant that it required a considerably greater quantity of British exports to pay for a given quantity of imports. This situation threatened to bring about a fall in British standards of living; but no sooner had the Conservatives come to power than the terms of trade began to shift back sharply in Great Britain's favour as the inflated prices of imports fell. This greatly eased the situation and enabled the Government to improve the position of the profit-earning classes without taking anything away from the industrial workers. The Government did not offer any serious resistance to Trade Union claims for higher wages to offset rising prices. The persons who were allowed to suffer were the old age pensioners and others living on fixed money incomes which they were not able to increase so as to offset the increased cost of living. These aged and retired persons had a bad time, and no doubt some of them turned to the Labour Party in hope of relief. But the Labour Party, as the Trade Union party, seemed likely to give preference to the claims of Trade Unions over those of old age pensioners and the like: so that in all probability the number of converts to Labour on this account was small.

Foreign policy, which might have been a major factor on Labour's side, went for little in the election because there was hardly any difference between the parties in relation to it. The leaders of both parties were well aware that the main body of British opinion in all classes was strongly opposed to anything likely to add to the danger of war. For this reason, the Conservatives, quite as much as the Labour Party, came out in favour of top-level negotiations with the Soviet Union, and against those parts of American policy which were calculated to worsen international relations. The Labour Party could not have outbid them in this respect unless it had been prepared to take a decisive stand on the need for disarmament and the banning of the hydrogen bomb. This its leaders were not prepared to do; and consequently the international policies of the two main parties appeared to most electors — and indeed were — almost precisely the same. Discussion of international issues played only a small part in the election campaign, though many Labour supporters would have liked to see such issues stressed. On the cognate issue of German re-armament too the Labour Party failed to take any line different from that of the Conservatives: so that the internationalists in its ranks were deeply disappointed and could put no great enthusiasm into the contest.

So the British Conservatives go back to office for a further period, with a larger majority than they had but with one substantially smaller than the Gallup Poll experts predicted; and the Labour Party is given a further period for considering what its future policy is to be. The new Government has had to deal, as almost its first business, with an outbreak of strikes that is already leading to a demand for legislation to restrict the right to strike. Noth-

ing much is likely to come of this; for the Conservatives will certainly try to avoid a direct conflict with the Trade Unions, and any attempt to legislate against strike action would unite the Trade Union movement to resist it. As long as the right to strike is left unquestioned, the present leaders of the Unions will continue to do all they can to prevent strike action. Of the three important strikes that have been in progress during the past few weeks two have been opposed by the principal Unions directly involved and the third has been a dispute between two Unions fully as much as between the strikers' Union and the employing body — the Transport Commission. Indeed, in two out of the three the root of the difference is a matter of inter-union relations; and in third discontent with the official trade union policy is the main cause of the stoppage.

The biggest of these strikes, which is now over, was that of the engine drivers and firemen on the railways, the majority of whom are organised in a Trade Union of their own, whereas a minority belong to the all-grades National Union of Railwaymen. The question at issue is the size of the wage differential to be paid to the locomotive staff on the ground of superior skill. This differential, like those in many other industries, has been much reduced in recent years by the practice of granting uniform advances to meet increased prices; for a given money differential is worth much less in real terms when living costs have sharply increased. Only last year the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, as the outcome of an arbitration award, recovered part of the differential they had previously lost; but this year they lost what they had gained as the result of a new all-grades settlement. They were threatening to strike, in order to win back their gain, before the General Election; but they agreed under pressure to postpone action till the election was over. Nearly a month ago they did strike, the rival Union instructing its members to remain at work. A few days ago they agreed to return to work without any real settlement, leaving the matters at issue to be settled by a special referee, Lord Justice Morris, who has had much experience as an arbitrator in trade disputes. He has just issued his award, giving the engine drivers a very small advance. The question at stake is one of great difficulty and sharply divides the Trade Union movement. How much more ought a skilled worker to receive than an unskilled worker? The craft Unions which consist exclusively or mainly of skilled workers naturally desire to get as much as they can for their members; whereas the Unions of less skilled workers and those which organise skilled and less skilled together are apt to prefer raising wage-rates equally all round, in order to get as much as possible for the lowest-paid grades. On general principles of aqualitarianism the latter is clearly the right policy; but if it is applied to wage-earners only and not to other classes of income-earners it widens the gap between the skilled craftsmen and the technicians or office employees and makes it hardly worth while to learn a skilled trade. There is accordingly no clearly rational basis on which such matters can be decided; and in the present case the Trades Union Congress has been reduced to an unhappy position of neutrality, in which it can give no lead because it refuses to formulate any general wages policy for fear of offending one or another section of its constituents.

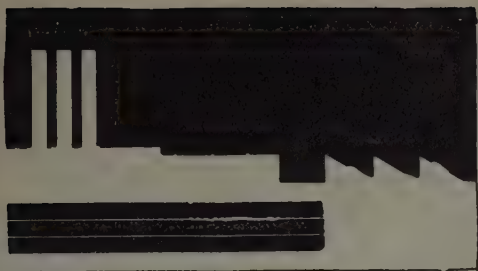


The second major dispute, which has largely held up work at a number of British ports and is still proceeding, as I write, is also a quarrel between Trade Unions — between the huge Transport and General Workers' Union and the relatively tiny Stevedores' and Dockers' Union. The latter was, until quite recently, confined to London, where it has been frequently in dispute with its bigger rival. Outside London there was, till this year, no rival Union to the T. and G. W. except in Glasgow, which is not involved in the present dispute; but among the members of the T. and G. W. there were considerable rebel groups which had come under unofficial leadership. Some of these groups, in Hull, Liverpool, Manchester and a few smaller ports, recently broke away from the T. and G. W. and were accepted into the Stevedores' and Dockers' Union. The Trades Union Congress thereupon suspended the Stevedores and Dockers from membership on a charge of poaching, and the port employers, urged on by the T. and G. W. refused to allow the Stevedores and Dockers to take part in the agencies for collective bargaining at the affected ports. The Stevedores and Dockers thereupon struck for recognition of their bargaining right; and the Trades Union Congress took a strong line against them. The question at issue here is whether groups of workers who are dissatisfied with the Trade Union they belong to have a right to break away from it and join a rival Union, or form a new one. To admit this right involves admitting the legitimacy of having rival Unions claiming to represent the same group of workers, and possibly opposing one another's claims. On the other hand, to deny the right involves treating the Trade Unionist as the property of his Trade Union rather than the other way round, and provokes strong resentment where Trade Unions are following policies which cause widespread discontent among their members. Here again it is difficult to find a clear principle for deciding the issue; for my part I have so much sympathy with the discontent many workers feel with the present Union leadership that I support the Stevedores' and Dockers' case, much though I dislike contending «breakaways».

The third case is that of the crews of a number of liners, who have gone out on strike in protest against bad conditions of living and accommodation on board ship and also against the failure of their Union — the National Union of Seamen — to do anything to get their grievances redressed. The strikes are in these cases unofficial: there is no rival Union to support them. But they command widespread sympathy because of the very bad conditions that are being brought to light — conditions with which it is indeed surprising that the N.U.S. has apparently made no attempt to deal.

I do not think the simultaneous outbreak of these three disputes heralds any extensive Trade Union revolt. As long as the employers and the Government are prepared to make concessions fairly easily in response to wage-demands there is not likely to be any widespread development of strike action. The Trade Unions, such as the Amalgamated Engineering Union and the Electrical Trades Union, which have been pursuing the most vigorous industrial policies, and have been out of sympathy with the majority of the leaders of the Trades Union Congress, are not likely to engage in large-scale strike action when they can get most of what they want without it; and the groups which have special grievances, such as the seamen, dockers, and locomotive engineers, will not find it easy to stand out against the united opposition of Government and employers when it is reinforced by that of the leaders of the biggest Unions. The present industrial troubles are likely to die down rather than to lead on to greater troubles in the very near future. Nevertheless, it is clear that the central Trade Union leadership is largely to blame, both because of its refusal even to attempt to frame any general coordinated wages policy and because it has allowed the Trade Union movement to become an instrument for damping down unrest and acting dictatorially towards the rank and file membership rather than for giving expression to its members' grievances and aspirations.

It is often said that in recent years the British Trade Unions have become assimilated to the American, in that they are no longer waging a class-struggle but are joining hands with the employers to promote higher productivity. There is, however, the fundamental difference that, whereas the American Trade Unions, while they accept capitalism, go all out to win the biggest concessions they can, the British Unions refrain from using their full strength for fear of damaging the precarious hold of British exports on



the world market. In the United States, the Unions are in no fear that their militancy will jeopardise employment or cause a fall in the American standard of living. The British Unions are rightly, but perhaps unduly, fearful on this account, and accordingly find it difficult to respond to their members' demands for action to improve living standards. They feel sure that, if they took a more militant line, they could under present conditions do more than they are in fact doing to win improved conditions, including a measure of participation in the control of industry. In is part of the tragedy of British Trade Unionism to-day that most of its leaders are positively hostile to such participation, because they are afraid that it would undermine their own control over their members and put more real power into the hands of the active minorities in the various factories and districts. The leaders have in fact become bureaucratically minded, and use the alleged danger of increasing Communist influence as a pretext for disciplining their members instead of seeking to diffuse power among them as a means of advancing towards industrial democracy.

This mood of the Trade Union leadership necessarily reacts with much force upon the Labour Party, which is controlled in the last resort by the Trade Union vote. The Trade Unionist who pays his contribution to the Labour Party through his Union has in practice no control at all over the attitude which the leaders of his Union take up in relation to political affairs. The Trade Union voting at Labour Party Conferences is decided on by the Union leaders without any attempt to elicit their members' opinions on the issues involved. In the past, this did not greatly matter in practice, because the distribution of opinion among the Trade Union leaders did not much differ from that in their sections of the Party. But to-day the Trade Union vote gives strong reinforcement to the right wing and overrides the more forward outlook of the majority of the individual members of the Local Labour Parties.

This makes it nearly impossible for the Labour Party to formulate a practicable constructive policy for an advance towards Socialism, and would do so even if the Party leaders were in favour of such a policy. The Trade Union voice in the Party is almost wholly negative: it does not put forward any programme of its own, but votes down any proposal that savours of «leftism» or threatens to disturb social tranquillity. Consequently, clear though it is that the Labour programme needs to be re-shaped fundamentally in order to re-capture the lost enthusiasm of the socialist militants, nothing gets done. Every constructive proposal is set aside; and the Party is reduced, in its electioneering, to abusing the Conservatives without offering any intelligible alternative to what they are doing already. This is indeed the same dilemma as is being faced by other Social Democratic Parties which have allowed themselves to become imprisoned between their fears of Communism and their desire to advance further towards Socialism without endangering social tranquillity.

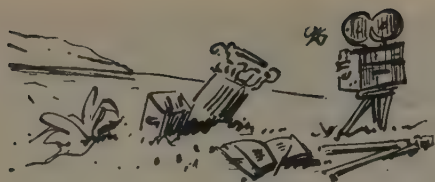
The plain truth is that in Great Britain affairs have reached a stage at which the will to advance towards Socialism has grown weak, even among a high proportion of those who regard themselves as Socialists. The real improvement that has taken place in working-class conditions, despite the more precarious condition of the British economy, has reduced the force of the appeal for revolutionary action; and the Labour Party has almost ceased to make headway among the intellectuals, who are no longer either stirred by pity for the «bottom dogs» or inspired by the vision of a new society based on social justice. The Party still receives the support of the great majority of the manual workers and of about one-third of the «white-collar» group of less well-paid non-manual workers; but among other groups it is in a very weak position. The great

increase in the size of the non-working-class electorate and especially in the groups intermediate between the working and the middle class has made against the development of Socialist attitudes, though not against increasing support for the «Welfare State». The Labour Party, in its endeavours to attract the intermediate groups, has watered down its programme and, in doing so, has lessened its appeal to the proletariat proper. Moreover, the less skilled workers, who from the 1890s up to the 1920s counted as supporters of Socialism against the more conservative craft Unionism of the skilled workers, have now become the bulwark of conservative Trade Unionism. This is partly because their economic position has improved both absolutely and relatively; but it is also because most of them take only a very slight interest in either Trade Unionism or politics, so that they allow themselves to be led by a bureaucracy of officials who are for the most part much less concerned to change the basis of the existing social order than to hold fast to the gains their members have already secured.

This attitude of course rests on the assumption that capitalism in Great Britain can afford both to maintain full employment, to which a large part of the improvement in the condition of the less skilled workers is due, and to afford a rising standard of living out of rising productivity. But there is no evident reason why, if Great Britain can keep out of war, this assumption should not be realised for a considerable time to come. The war danger apart, there is no good ground for supposing British capitalism to be at or near the point of collapse on account of its internal contradictions. Here as elsewhere, capitalism has learnt many lessons as a result of the experiences of the 1930s and is armed with better techniques for preventing a recurrence of really serious economic crisis. Not the least of these lessons is that it pays capitalism to dispense enough «welfare», as far as possible at the workers' own expense through insurance contributions, to take the edge off social and economic discontent and to isolate the Socialists who are seeking fundamental change from the mass of the people, who are only demanding moderate reforms.

I am not of course asserting that there is no prospect of a further crisis of capitalism — only that it is much less plausible than it was to take such a prospect for granted and that propaganda based on assuming it is much less effective than it used to be. Conservatism, by adapting itself to the «Welfare State», has stolen much of the Labour Party's appeal to the less politically conscious workers and to the intermediate groups or classes; and the Labour Party has so far failed to devise any new policy adapted to the changed state of electoral opinion. In these circumstances it seems improbable that Great Britain will play any pioneer role in the next stages of the advance towards Socialism in Western Europe. It may indeed be that the initiative in this advance has now passed away from the West to the less developed parts of Europe and to the countries of Asia, to which falls the task of devising new Socialist policies to fit the conditions of the second half of the twentieth century. Politically, Great Britain, including its Labour movement, is too closely tied to the United States and to its own colonial and imperialist past to take a leading part in the great movements of emancipation in Asia and Africa or to shake itself free of illogical fears of Communism. This is a hard saying; but the results of the election and the present mood of both the Trade Union and the political leadership of British Labour provide, I fear, ample warrant for it. British Socialism, like the Social Democracy of the other countries of Western Europe, needs re-building on radically new foundations and can be so re-built only as part of a great new internationalist movement that will get its inspiration fully as much from Yugoslavia and from Asia and Africa as from its own people in their present mood of fearful dependence on the United States.





The World of Art

YUGOSLAV MUSIC ABROAD

Dr. Andrija PREGER

OVER twelve tours in the course of seven years the folk dance company „Kolo“ has made famous the originality, wealth, beauty and freshness of our folk songs and dances in many countries of Europe. In Paris alone the company gave fifty performances, in London thirty two, in Amsterdam twelve; it has been twice to Switzerland, and went subsequently to Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece and Turkey. Other Yugoslav folk-dance companies have also been abroad, among which the Macedonian group „Tanec“ performed with great success in Turkey for ten days and in Israel for a month. The Croatian company „Lada“, winner of the first award at the International Folk-Music Festival at Llangollen in September of last year, toured England and gave concerts in Scandinavia.

The Yugoslavs are permanent guests at the Llangollen Festival and besides „Lada“, Yugoslav competitors last year carried off another two first prizes as well as one second one third. In previous years the „Kolo“ company and the Choir of Radio Belgrade won first prizes.

Nothing however can be more mistaken than the idea that Yugoslavia is only a country of folklore and peasant culture, folk songs and dances. A survey of the engagements and activities of Yugoslav musicians and artists abroad is sufficient to prove the contrary.

Our country has always been considered — and not without reason — as a source of fine voices. One of the most celebrated dramatic sopranos at the end of the last century was the Croatian opera singer Milka Trnina. But why go back half a century? Today the leading soprano of the Metropolitan Opera is our fellow countrywoman Zinka Kunc, who studied singing under Marija Kostrenčić at the Zagreb Musical Academy and begun her operatic career on the stage of the Zagreb Opera. But outstanding individuals cannot be a yardstick for the general artistic niveau of a country, a niveau which is determined by the quality of its leading artistic institutions, their achievements and future possibilities. Otherwise it would be easy to boast of Ivan Manet Jarnović, the virtuoso violinist from Dubrovnik, and contemporary of Mozart — known throughout the world as Giarnovici — who was among the first musicians of Europe of his time.

Musical life in Yugoslavia can also be gauged by the highly developed activity of our artists abroad, the engagements of large companies, the groups of our young artists who take part in competitions and so on.

The beginning of the season was marked by a number of successes achieved by young Yugoslav artists in international competitions. Dušan Popović a baritone of outstandingly fine vocal quality won the first prize in singing over forty-nine competitors at the tenth international Competition in Geneva. This is a major success when one takes into consideration that for four years at this festival, no first prize for singing was awarded. At the same time Cvetka Soucek, a young Slovenian contralto, won the first prize over sixty competitors at the International Competition of Music in Munich, while at the same competition, Ernest Ačkun (Clarinet) and Božidar Tumpelj (bassoon), final year students of the Belgrade Musical Academy, were awarded second prizes. The successes of our artists are no longer confined to singers, but are now including instrumentalists and conductors. Igor Gjadrov, a young conductor from Zagreb, won the first prize over forty competitors at the competition for conductors at Besançon. During the season two young singers, Vladeta Dimitrijević and Biserka

Cvejić, won first prizes at the May Singing Competition at Vervier, Belgium.

These results are not fortuitous. They are the fruits of the growing activity of musical training in our country, as well as of the general level of our musical institutions, which attract young talent and offer them a wide range of work.

What is however specific about this year's musical activity abroad is neither the numerous engagements of our folklore companies nor the praiseworthy results of our young artists in international competitions, nor the engagements of individual singers and instrumentalists who, in the past years, have also appeared in many countries, but the fact that many more large companies from our country had engagements in a number of countries in the West and Middle East. Entire operatic companies with complete chorus, orchestra and décor, ballet companies, symphony orchestras, professional choirs, as well as smaller mixed groups and individual artists accepted invitations abroad. The very fact that such invitations were made speaks for itself and points to the recognition of such artistic groups. This recognition is even greater due to the fact that the majority of these engagements are not arranged on an exchange basis but are based upon a genuine interest in our artists.

Sometimes expectations and demands are too great — as for example when the opera and ballet of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb performed at the Stoll Theatre in London from 24th January to 12th February („The Yugoslav National Opera“). It is no wonder that the best representatives of our operatic art were expected. This was not, however, the case. The London performance of the Zagreb Opera, an institution with the best traditions, which counts among its soloists such world-renowned artists as Marijana Radev, Vladimir Ruždjak, Josip Gostić permanent guest of the Vienna State Opera and others, — a theatre on whose stage such famous singers as Josip Rijačević and Zinka Kunc started their career — was not this time under a lucky star. The weak repertoire, chosen simply for commercial reasons undoubtedly influenced the results of the visit. The company sang the operas „Prince Igor“, „Pagliacci“ and a Yugoslav work by Jakov Gotovac „Eros from the Other World“ and performed the following ballets: Prokofiev's „Romeo and Juliet“, „The Gingerbread Heart“ by Baranović, and „The Devil in the Village“, by Fran Lotka. „Eros from the Other World“ was most appreciated. The general opinion of the work was best expressed by the „Daily Telegraph“ (29th. I. 1955) which wrote that it is „a characteristic comic Slav national opera without any of the melodic or rhythmic features of Weinberger's to which it bears a resemblance...“. The work becomes interesting after the first act and finishes with a delirious kolo. „The performance was a good one, with talented singers whose acting was both lively and witty“ wrote the „News Chronicle“. „Prince Igor“ and „Pagliacci“ were coldly received and did not come up to expectations. Of the ballets the most successful was „The Devil in the Village“ about which the „News Chronicle“ wrote: „A delightful and original work as full of inventiveness and warmth and humour as „Romeo and Juliet“ was boring and banal“. Opinion was divided on „The Gingerbread Heart“. The choreography of „The Gingerbread Heart“ and „Romeo and Juliet“ was mainly criticised as uninventive and lacking character, while all the folk dances were favourably cri-



Maksim Sedej: Composition

cized and soloists Sonia Kastl, Mirko Sparembek and Nenad Lotka were praised.

As opposed to this half-hearted reception, the visit of the Belgrade Opera to Wiesbaden for the May Festival was a complete success which called forth a storm of enthusiasm from both the public and the critics. Glancing through the reviews of the German Press from twenty different towns we find such headlines: „The Yugoslav Opera Enthusiastically Received” (Berlin Kurier), „The Belgrade Opera Takes Wiesbaden by Storm” (General Anzeiger, Bonn), „Triumph of Slav Singers and Dancers” (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung), „The Belgrade State Opera in First Place” (Westdeutsche Allgemeine Essen), „The Yugoslav Opera: „Triumph” (Weser Kurier, Bremen), „Belgrade an Event for the Wiesbaden Festival” (Kasseler Post) and so on. The opera of the National Theatre was performed with the complete company, chours, orchestra and its own decor. Three performances were given: „Boris Godunov”, „Eros from the Other World” and „Prince Igor”; the first two were conducted by Krešimir Baranović, with Miroslav Čančalović and Aleksandar Marinković respectively, in the leading roles, and the third was conducted by Oskar Dannon, Director of the Belgrade Opera, with Dušan Popović in the leading role. The enthusiasm of the public was indeed sensational. The whole press which reviewed the performances and entire company in superlatives shared this enthusiasm unanimously. „The entire house applauded both operas with enthusiasm” („Eros” and „Prince Igor”). The ballet was acknowledged as the climax of the performance. We were delighted not only by the high spirits and gay mood which was expressed in it but also by the artistic, technical and physical level of achievement... (Frankfurter Allgemeine). Much praise went to the chours. It was generally agreed by the critics that the artistic level of the soloists was exceedingly high and, according to some opinions, even the best opera in Europe could be proud of such singers. Criticism was directed mostly at the style of acting and the production. The efforts of the producers to place the chorus as the main character in „Boris” and „Igor” in the centre of the plot, was met with approval. However the critics frequently drew attention to the lack of psychological depth, the insufficient stylization of production and acting which, as they almost all unanimously agreed, overemphasized the traditional, the conservative and even the naive and was full of out-dated elements. Nevertheless, in the opinion of the critics, these faults were deemed by the elemental artistic vitality and élan displayed by both soloists and ensemble. It would be interesting to reproduce the opinion of the critics at greater length, but space does not permit. By way of conclusion it may be stated that in these three performances the Belgrade Opera made the best possible impression upon the public and critics of Western Germany, some of whom insisted that the Belgrade company compensated for the ab-

sence this year of the Vienna State Opera from Wiesbaden.

Immediately after Wiesbaden the Belgrade National Theatre Ballet gave two performances each of Hristić's „Ochrid Legend”, Baranovic's „Gingerbread Heart” and „A Chinese Tale” and Prokofiev's „Romeo and Juliet” at the Maggio Fiorento. The Florentine Press did not wholeheartedly share the public's enthusiasm, and pointed out a number of faults. Most successful were Baranovic's ballets, with their national dances and the direct appeal of their music, Dušan Ristic's excellent staging and costumes for „A Chinese Tale”, and Milica Babić-Jovanović's colourful costumes for „The Gingerbread Heart”. The dancers' naturalness of expression and the liveliness of their performance won praise from the critics, whilst the lack of invention in the choreography aroused the strongest disapproval. As for „Romeo and Juliet” and „Ochrid Legend”, the predominance of pantomime over dancing in the former, the conventionality of the non-folk dances in the latter and the lack of creative unity in the choreography as a whole called forth the severest criticism, whilst no great praise was bestowed upon the orchestra. „La Nazione Italiana”, „Il Nuovo Corriere”, „La Gazzetta”, „Giornale di Mattino”, of 12th, 14th and 16th May). Nevertheless, the technical skill of the ensemble was acknowledged, and particular praise was bestowed upon the soloists Dušan Trninić, Branko Marković, Dušanka Sifnios, Rut Parnel and Mira Sanjina.

The same works were performed by the Belgrade Ballet Company during the Vienna Festival (4th to 22st June), at which a Japanese Goyo Ballet Company, the ballet of the Vienna State Opera, the Berlin Ballet, then the State and People's Opera from Vienna, the Burgtheater, a number of foreign theatre companies, the Philadelphia Orchestra and well-known conductors and solists also took part. The reception was wonderfully cordial. Under the heading „A Triumph of Dancers' Vitality” the „Wiener Kurier” wrote, apropos of „An Ochrid Legend”: „In this work the national dances win the day. It was experience to witness the proud bearing of the women and the expressiveness of their mimicry, and to enjoy the dancers' masculine vigour, vitality, and natural attitude towards the dance-movements”. The „Oesterreichische Zeitung” praised the performance of „Romeo and Juliet” thus: „At the same time those features are here combined, in great profusion which otherwise can be met with only singly, as a specially distinguishing feature of this or that ballet company: complete technical mastery of all styles of dancing, a choreography which is full of imagination and an ensemble which is full of individuality. The company as a whole proved itself equal to its great task and called forth the greatest admiration... It must be freely admitted that it would be difficult to find another company which could realize so well and so much in the spirit of the music this important work of the mature Prokofiev.” Of Dušanka Sifnios the writer says that here Juliet is one of the finest artistic interpretations he has seen.

To this list of contributions of our companies to various festivals must be added the visit to Salonika of the recently formed ballet company of the National Theatre of Macedonia, which performed there in April „Coppelia” and „The Sleeping Beauty”; a visit of a company of 32 members



Nikola Gika: Flautist

of the Split Theatre to Istanbul, Ankara and Smyrna, where they gave various items from opera and ballet and received an enthusiastic welcome from the public. It is not without interest to mention that the quite recently formed ballet troupe of the People's Theatre of Novi Sad has already received an invitation to visit Greece and Turkey.

In addition to these theatre groups, two of our symphony orchestras have been travelling abroad. The Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra went to Northern Italy, whilst the Belgrade Philharmonic just returned from an extended tour of Lebanon and Egypt, where it gave a total of 14 concerts — 7 in Beirut, 6 in Kairo and 1 in Alexandria — under the baton of Krešimir Baranović and Živojin Zdravković. The programmes included Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Cesar Franc, Dvorak and Khachaturian, in addition to our own composers Konjović, Baranović and Hristić. The solist were the pianists Ivo Maček, the violinists Branko Pajević, and Ljudevit Pap and the clarinettist Bruno Brun. These concerts aroused great interest and met with the approval of both public and critics, who praised highly orchestra conductors and solists, comparing our orchestra with others of much higher standing that have visited Egypt.

The Zagreb Radio Chamber Orchestra which was formed not long ago, went to Belgium during the month of March and gave 7 concerts. One concert was given before an audience of 2,500 in the great hall of the Palais des Beaux Arts in Brussels. Amongst the works by our composers that were performed was Stjepan Sulek's Classical Concerto which was duly appreciated. The concert in Paris, which was devoted to works by Mozart, was received by the Paris critics with the highest praise. Here we must mention the excellent Zagreb Soloists' Ensemble, a group of 11 string-players, who, amongst other places, visited Vienna. On this occasion the „Nouvelles Oesterreich" wrote that the group belongs „among the best ensembles that we have ever heard and only be compared with the Virtuosi di Roma". The Ensemble received several cordial offers and made recordings for both wireless and gramophone companies.

Choirs that went abroad are the Choir of Radio Belgrade, which gave concerts in Graz, and the Philharmonic Mixed Choir of Slovenia, which performed at Linz. Both choirs were praised by the Press.

Many of our opera singers have been singing abroad. The contralto, Marijana Radev, for example, and the tenor Noni Žunec, who sang in „Judas Maccabeus" in Switzerland. Vilma Bukovec, prima donna of the Ljubljana Opera, who was awarded a prize at last year's singing competition at Toulouse, sang the part of Madam Butterfly at Toulouse. „She gave us a moving and charming geisha-girl and her success was fully deserved", wrote „La Dépêche". After his success in the title rôle of the „Flying Dutchman" at the Berlin Staatsoper, Tomislav Neralić, from the Zagreb Opera, delighted the Berlin public as Iago in Verdi's „Othello". At the same performance Othello was sung by Josip Gostić. The baritone Stanoje Janković sang in Bulgaria together with the Belgrade artists Olga Jovanović (piano) and Branko Pajević (violin). Vladimir Ruždak, baritone, from the Zagreb Opera, sang Rigoletto in Prague

during the spring season there. The young pianist Darko Lukić and the Belgrade Opera baritone Dušan Popović were recently performing in Poland, Popović sang in „Prince Igor" and „Traviata" and gave a song recital. A group of operatic singers, Miroslav Čangalović, Aleksandar Marinković and Vilma Bukovec, recently returned from the Soviet Union, where they have sung in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities in opera and at concerts. „Sovetskaya Kultura" and „Pravda" gave favourable reviews of these performances, emphasizing the quality of the voices and the expressive interpretation. This season, Čangalović made his début in Paris, which gave him a resounding welcome. „Figaro" wrote, „He is a singer such as is rarely heard. We shall hear more of him."

Several of our young conductors have succeeded in making a name abroad. Milan Horvat, who was permanent conductor of the Dublin Symphony Orchestra during several seasons, conducted last year the London Symphony Orchestra, the Orchestra of the Paris Conservatoire, the Berlin Philharmonic and the Vienna Symphony Orchestra. Živojin Zdravković conducted four concerts in Brazil for Radio Stockholm, where he performed works by modern Yugoslav composers; Samo Hubad, in addition to his visit to Turkey, has conducted the Paris Radio Orchestra and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra, whilst the young Slovenian conductor Čiril Cvetko was on two occasions guest conductor with the „Ensemble Orchestral de Paris", with whom he performed before a Paris audience the Concertino by the Yugoslav composer M. Jaranović, who was born in 1740. Bogdan Babić, Conductor of the Belgrade Opera, made a successful appearance before a Stuttgart audience with the orchestra of the South German Radio.

We have had a particularly lively exchange with the countries of the Balkan Union — Greece and Turkey. In addition to the artists already mentioned, the young pianist Jurica Muraj and Freddie Došek, the violinist Branko Pajević, the duo Marković and Aćimović and Zarko Cvejić from the Belgrade Opera, went to Greece, whilst the two sisters Mihajlović, the bassoonist Ivan Turšić, the folkloric group „Tanec" and members of the Split Theatre visited Turkey.

The well-known Yugoslav pianist Melita Lorković played in Belgium and Scandinavia, and is now in Brazil. The violinist Igor Ozim, winner of the Flesch Medal, gave concerts in the Scandinavian countries and in Paris.

If we add that Decca has made recordings of the three great operas — „Boris Godunov", „Khovanshchina" and „Prince Igor" — performed in the original by the soloist choir and orchestra of the Belgrade Opera and conducted by Krešimir Baranović and Oskar Danon, we shall have a fair picture of the activity of Yugoslav musicians abroad during the past season.

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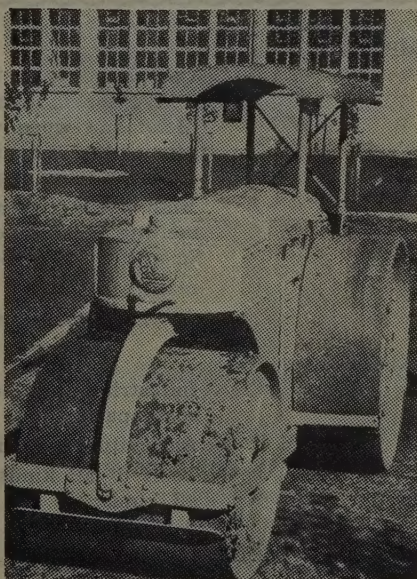
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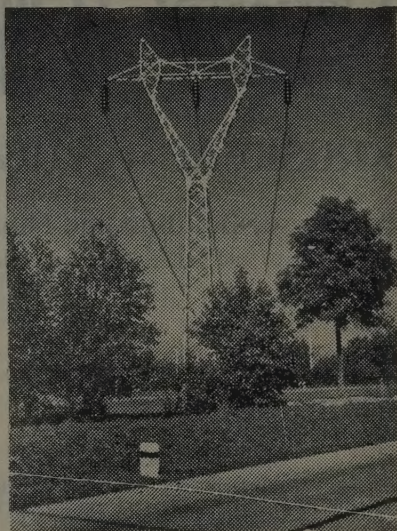
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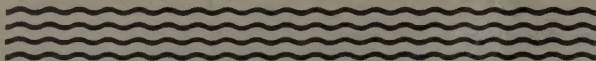
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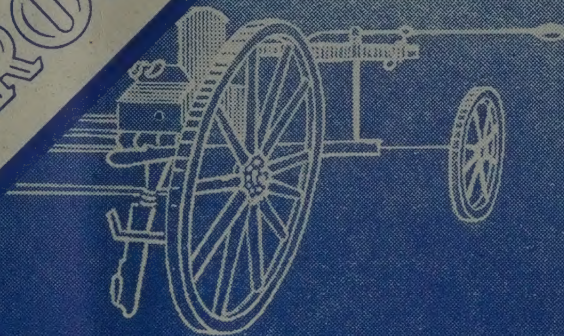
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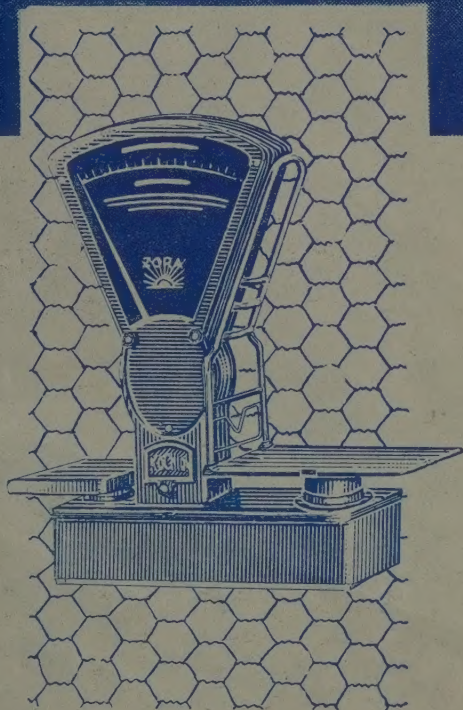
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